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MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN LORD DE JOINVILLE,

GRAND SENESCHAL OF CHAMPAGNE, &c.

Map of SYRIA & PALESTINE, to illustrate the dissertations of Mons.r Falconet on the Assassins. By the Sieur D'Anville.

Roman Miles, equal to 755 Toises & an half.

Grecian or Turkish Miles, equal to 661 Toises

Arabian Miles, equal to 1005 Toises.

Great Miles in use at the time of the Crusades, 60 to a Degree.

British Miles 69½ to a Degree.

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MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN LORD DE JOINVILLE,

GRAND SENESCHAL OF CHAMPAGNE,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF;

CONTAINING

A HISTORY OF PART OF THE LIFE OF LOUIS IX.

KING OF FRANCE, SURNAMED SAINT LOUIS,

INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THAT KING'S EXPEDITION TO EGYPT IN THE YEAR MCCXLVIII.

To which are added,—the

NOTES & DISSERTATIONS OF M. DU CANGE ON THE ABOVE; TOGETHER WITH THE DISSERTATIONS OF M. LE BARON DE LA BASTIE ON THE LIFE OF ST LOUIS, M. L'EVESQUE DE LA RAVALIERE AND M. FALCONET ON THE ASSASSINS OF SYRIA;

From the 'Memoires de l'Académie de Belles Lettres et Inscriptions de France.'

THE WHOLE TRANSLATED

BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

VOL. II.

At the hafod press,

BY JAMES HENDERSON,

MDCCCVII.

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A MAP *OF THE* DELTA *EXPLANATORY OF THE EXPEDITION OF* SAINT LOUIS *IN* EGYPT.

Copied from the Map in the Louvre Edition.

References.

A. *Canal filled up by the army of St Louis, and then passed by his army dry footed.*

B. *Camp of the Duke of Burgundy, who had been stationed with part of the army below the Canal of Ravi.*

C. *The ford of the Canal discovered to Saint Louis by a Bedouin.*

D. *Bridge on the same Canal for the communication of the two divisions of the army.*

E. *Camp of the division of the Army that had crossed the Canal with Saint Louis.*

F. *Torrent.* G. *Bridge over this torrent.*

HH. *Camps of the Turks or Saracens.*

DISSERTATIONS

OR

REFLECTIONS

ON

THE HISTORY OF SAINT LOUIS.

ON COATS OF ARMS, AND INCIDENTALLY ON THE ORIGIN OF COLOURS AND METALS USED IN BLAZONRY.

DISSERTATION I.

THE cotte d'armes was the moſt uſual dreſs of the ancient Gauls: it was called by them 'Sagum *,' whence comes the french word 'Saye,' or 'Sayon.' Its ſhape was like the tunics of our deacons, and ſome of our authors even call it by that name. It did not commonly reach below the knees, as Martial has remarked,

'Dimidiaſque nates Gallica palla tegit.' †

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* Bayff. de Re veſt.

† L. 1. Epigr. 97.

They wore this dreſs in time of war over the cuiraſs, as our french knights wear their coats of arms, which have retained this name becauſe they were alſo worn over the armour. The ancient Greeks wore a ſimilar dreſs over the cuiraſs, called for this reaſon, in Plutarch *, επιθωρακιδιον and περιθωρακιδιον. From him we learn that the chief uſe of it was to diſtinguiſh the perſons of each party.

Theſe coats of arms are mentioned by ſome greek writers of the middle age, who call them, by a barbarous greek word, ſometimes επιλωρικιον, at other times επανοκλιβανον †, from being worn over the cuiraſs. Tretzes repreſents them as being ſlit down in like manner to the coats of arms ‡.

The French at firſt uſed a dreſs, or mantle, that was peculiar to them: it was worn on the ſhoulders, and fell to the ground before and behind, but at the ſides ſcarcely touched the knees, which is the ſhape of the royal mantle worn by our kings on the day of their coronation: but when they came into Gaul they quitted this dreſs, and adopted the coat of arms, or ſayon of the Gauls, from its being better adapted to their warlike profeſſion, and leſs embarraſſing in battle. 'Quia bellicis rebus aptior videretur ille habitus,' are the words of the monk of St Gal §. However, as novelty pleaſes, and as the French naturally love change, they ſometimes wore their coats of arms of a greater length, and it came half-way down the leg, and even at times to the heels. It is thus that Nicetas repreſents the coat of arms of the prince of Antioch (a french lord) at the time of the tournament held at Antioch, in honour of the arrival of the emperor Manuel Comnenes. 'He was mounted,' ſays he, 'on a beautiful horſe, whiter than ſnow, clothed in a coat of arms, open on both ſides, and which fell to his heels:' αμπισχομενος χιτωνα διασχιστον ποδηνεκη ||. Froiſſart deſcribes ſir John Chandos ¶ as 'dreſſed in a long robe which fell to the ground, blazoned with his arms on white ſarcenet, argent a pile gules, one on his breaſt, and another on his back.'

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* Plut. in Artax.

‡ Tretz. ad Heſiod opera.

|| Nicet. in Man. l. 3.

† Rigalt. et Meurs. in Gloſſ.

§ Monach. Sangal. l. 1. ch. 36.

¶ Froiſſart, vol. 2. ch. 9. 4to.

The chronicle of Flanders ſpeaks of the emperor Henry de Luxembourg as follows: ‘ He was mounted on a great war-horſe, clothed in a tunic of cloth of gold, having the black eagle embroidered thereon: the ſleeves of the tunic were tied near to his wriſts, and hung half way down his leg *.’

This long ſhape of the coat of arms is often ſeen on old ſeals. Saint Bernard thus notices thoſe of the knights templars: ‘ Operitis equos ſericis, et pendulos neſcio quos panniculos loricis ſuperinduitis, depingitis haſtas, clypeos, et ſellas †,’ &c.

Becauſe this ſort of dreſs was almoſt the only one in which the lords, knights and barons, could diſplay their magnificence, and becauſe it covered all their other clothing and armour, they had it uſually made of cloths of gold or ſilver, of rich ſkins, furs of ermine, ſables, minever, and others of the like ſort. It is therefore ſuch coats of arms we muſt underſtand Albert, canon of Aix-la-Chapelle, to mean, when he thus deſcribes the dreſſes of Godfrey of Bouillon and the other french barons, when they preſented themſelves before the emperor Alexis Comnenes, ‘ In ſplendore et ornatu pretioſarum veſtium, tam ex oſtro, quam aurifrigio, et in niveo opere Harmellino, et ex Mardrino, Griſioque et Vario, quibus Gallorum principes præcipue utuntur ‡.’ And when he afterwards relates a defeat of the French, he ſays the infidels made an immenſe booty, and carried away ‘ Molles veſtes, pelliceos Varios, Griſios, Harmellinos, Mardrinos, oſtra innumerabilia auro texta miri decoris, operis, et coloris §.’

In time the abuſe of theſe dreſſes of cloths of gold and ſilver and furs came to ſuch an exceſs, eſpecially during a war, or in preparing for an expedition to the holy land, that their uſe was forbidden, as a ſuperfluous and fooliſh expenſe. In the croiſade undertaken in the year 1190, by Richard, king of England, and Philip Auguſtus king of France, among the regulations that were made for the eſtabliſhment of order in the army, it was reſolved, that in future they were to abſtain from wearing ſcarlet, or

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* Chr. de Fl. ch. 51.

† S. Bernard. in exhort. ad Milit. Templi, c. 2.

‡ Albert. Aq. l. 2. c. 16.

§ Ibid. l. 5. c. 20.

the ſkins of vair, ermines or gris, the coſt of which was enormous, and more vain than uſeful *. 'Statutum eſt etiam quod nullus Vario, vel Griſio, vel Sabellinis, vel Eſcarletis utatur.'

It ſeems that this regulation was obſerved in the reign of St Louis, who, in his expeditions to the holy land, abſtained from wearing ſcarlet, vair, or ermine: 'ab illo enim tempore unquam indutus eſt ſcarleto, vel panno viridi, ſeu bruneto, nec pellibus variis, ſed veſte nigri coloris, vel camelini, ſeu Perſei.' The lord de Joinville, in the foregoing hiſtory, gives a ſimilar teſtimony of the king's ſimplicity in his dreſs. He alſo aſſures us, that during the whole time he was attending the king on his croiſade, he never once ſaw an embroidered coat of arms.

This abuſe ſtill continued to increaſe to ſuch a degree, that there were but few who did not injure their fortunes by dreſſing themſelves in the moſt expenſive furs; ſo that in two parliaments holden at London in the years 1334 and 1363 †, all perſons who could not expend one hundred pounds a-year were forbidden to wear furs. It was this ſubject which cauſed two german writers to complain of a ſimilar rage in their time: 'Ad Marturinam veſtem anhelamus quaſi ad ſummam beatitudinem.' ‡

It was particularly in times of war that the great lords took the opportunity of diſplaying their magnificence in the ſplendour of their dreſſes, and in their coats of arms. Guillaume de Guigneulle, monk of Chaillis, ſings,

'Ou ſont banniers deſploïées,
Ou ſont hyaumes et bachinets,
Tymbres, et veſtus veluës,
A or batu et à argent
Et à autre convitoiement.' §

I do not, however, believe, that the wearing of rich furs began with the croiſades, it being too well known that the French wore them from the

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* Guill. Neubr. l. 3. c. 22. Guil de Nangis, p. 346. Gauffr. de Belloloco; c. 8.

† Walſingham, 3d edit.

‡ Helmod. l. 1. c. 1. Adam Brem. c. 227.

§ Guill. de Guign. in his MS. romance, du Pelerinage de l'Humaine Lignée.

commencement of the monarchy. Eguinard writes, that Charlemagne was uſually dreſt in the french faſhion: ‘ Veſtitu patrio, hoc eſt Francico utibatur,’ and that during the winter, ‘ ex pellibus lutrinis thorace confecto humeros ac pectus tegebat.’ * Hence we learn, that the French, like other northern nations made uſe of furs in their dreſs. Rutilius Numatiatus †, Clodian ‡ and Sidonius § deſcribe the Goths and their kings as covered with furs, calling them ‘ pelliti reges.’ Sidonius alſo ſays the ſame thing of the Burgundians ||. Odo de Cluniac writes, that Gerald count d'Aurillac ‘ veſtimentis pelliceis ſuper veſtibus utebatur, quia genus iſtud indumenti ſolent clerici viciſſim et laici in uſum habere.’ ¶

To this cuſtom we muſt refer a paſſage of Ives biſhop of Chartres, when he writes, that Stephen being deſirous of keeping his biſhoprick of Beauvais had brought over the majority of the canons to his party, by a preſent he had made to each of a rich ſuit of fur: ‘ Quos ſibi pelliculis peregrinorum murium, atque aliis hujuſmodi vanitatum aucupiis ineſcaverat.’ **

Roger Hoveden ſays, the biſhop of Lincoln was bound by his tenure to preſent to the king, as an acknowledgement, a mantle of ſables ††.

Several learned men believe, and on ſufficient grounds, that the heralds have borrowed from theſe coats of arms, the metals, colours and furs which form part of the art of blazonry. The learned Mark Welſer was one of the firſt who advanced this opinion, in the following words: ‘ Atque ego compertum habeo pleraque inſignia, quorum meri colores, ex militari primo habitu manaſſe: ſeu (quod hactenus eodem recidit) in militum ſagà migraſſe ex clypeis.’ ‡‡

Sir Henry Spelman has alſo touched upon it, in his Aſpilogia, when he writes, that theſe rich ſkins have given to gentlemen the idea of borrowing their colours, to put on their ſhields and in their arms: ‘ Sæpenumero

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* Eguin in Car. M.

† Rutil. l. 1.

‡ Itin. Claud. in Ruf.

§ Sidon. l. 7.

‖ Sidon. l. 5. ep. 7.

¶ Odo Clun. l. 2. c. 3. de vita S. Geraldi.

** Ivo Carn. ep. 104.

†† Hoveden, an. 1195.

‡‡ Welſer, lib. 4. Rerum Aug.

pelles quædam, quibus alias ad honorem et inſignia induebantur proceres, colorem clypeis ſubminiſtrant Armellinorum et Zebellinorum *.'

After theſe great men, one of our french authors has advanced the ſame thing, but without proving it more than the others. 'That the dreſſes of former times ſerved to introduce the metals, colours, furs, and the terms and rules into heraldry, particularly for the bearings in arms, obſerved by heralds to this day †.' This opinion is ſo plauſible, that I have no difficulty to affirm that, in fact, theſe coats of arms have been the ſource whence have originated the metals, colours and furs, that are now employed in heraldry. But as this may at firſt appear ſurpriſing, if not accompanied by authentic proofs, I intend continuing this diſſertation, to prove that what are commonly called colour, in terms of heraldry, are not ſimply colours, as has been hitherto believed, but a ſkin, or fur, neither more nor leſs than ermine and vair, which have been called by this name. With regard to the two metals uſed in heraldry, it is not difficult to conceive that they have been taken from coats of arms made of cloths of gold or ſilver.

Among the ſkins, and rich furs, which are mentioned by the writers of the middle ages, are thoſe of vair, ermine, gris, martins, ſables, and others that may be collected from the old ordinances reſpecting the tolls of Paris, and under the title of 'Pelleterie' in the Coûtume de Normandie ‡, and in the account of Stephen de la Fontaine, maſter of the robes to the king, for the year 1351, which is in the chamber of accounts at Paris, and in various other writers. All theſe furs are generally known under the name of 'Pannes,' which is an old french word, but ſtill uſed to ſignify furs, or the lining of mantles, made of a particular ſort of ſilk, that has a ſhaggy look, to reſemble the ſkin linings, to which they have ſucceeded. This word very frequently occurs in Froiſſart, Monſtrelet, and in different authors of thoſe times, when they make a recital of the moſt precious articles of houſehold ſtuff. It was alſo employed by our poets, in the Roman de la Roſe, by Guillaume Guiart, and by Martial d'Auvergne in his Arreſts de l'Amour,

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* Spelm. Aſpilog. p. 76.

† Charles Segoing en ſon treſor heraldique.

‡ Couſt. de Normand. ch. 602.

the Reclus de Moliens, and others. Some writers in Latin have tranſlated it by the word ‘ Pannus,’ and, among others, Geoffry prior of Vigeois, in his chronicle, at this paſſage, chapter 74: ‘ Barones tempore priſco munifici largitores vilibus utebantur pannis, adeo ut Euſtorgius Epiſcopus, Vicecomes Lemovicenſis, et Vicecomes Combornenſis arietinis ac vulpinis pellibus aliquoties uterentur, quas poſt illos, mediocres deferre erubeſcunt.’

I ſhall not pretend to deſcribe all the rich furs the great lords were dreſſed in, but confine my remarks to thoſe which make part of heraldic terms, of which there are two known under the name of Pannes, ſuch as ermine and vair, and the five others called Colours, although in fact they be pannes like the vair and ermine; which is what I propoſe to prove, after I ſhall have ſaid a few words on the two firſt, which heralds have always called Pannes and Furs, perhaps on account of the ſkins of gris, gules, vert, ſable, purpure: being in their nature ſingle, and unmixed with other colours or figures, they have, in proceſs of time, paſſed for ſingle colours, to expreſs the ſhield of arms, which could not be done with ermine and vair, becauſe they are compound colours, or at leaſt diverſified by the colour of their hair, and their names have been for this reaſon forced to be retained on the ſhields of heraldry.

The ermine is a ſmall animal of the ſize and form of a large rat, and is ſo called by the greek and roman naturaliſts. Its muzzle is pointed and furred: its ſkin of a perfect white, except the end of the tail, which is black. Pliny * writes, that theſe animals, during winter, hide themſelves in their holes, and when eaten have a fine flavour. Ælian ſays † they have a knowledge of futurity, and that when they foreſee the falling of any building they retire from it. He adds, that in an iſland of the Euxine ſea, called Heraclea, from having been dedicated to Hercules, there were numbers of thoſe rats, which had ſo great a reſpect for his divinity, that they never touched any thing that was conſecrated to him.

A herald at arms, who lived during the reigns of the emperor Frederic of Auſtria and of Henry king of England, notices, in a treatiſe which he

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* Pliny, l. 8. c. 37.

† Ælian, l. 6. de Anim. c. 40, 41. Var. hiſt. l. 1. ch. 11.

wrote on the duties of heralds, another propenſity of this animal, namely his conſtant attempts to appeaſe the quarrels of other beaſts, and that when he cannot ſucceed in it, he preſerves an exact neutrality. St Jerome mentions the pleaſant ſmell of the ſkins of theſe rats: 'Odoris autem ſuffitus, et diverſa thymiamata amonum, cyphi, œnanthe, muſcus, et peregrini muris pellicula *.' Sigiſmond de Herberſtin tells us, in his deſcription of Muſcovy †, that there are ſeaſons when the ermines are not ſo white; and as they are commonly offered the wrong ſide outward, it is only from the head and tail that merchants can judge whether they have been taken in the proper ſeaſon.

The ſkin of ermines has been employed time immemorial as a fur for dreſs, and has been greatly eſteemed by all nations for its extreme whiteneſs. Kings and princes have uſed it as one of the moſt coſtly, and have worn it on the annual feſtivals: the great barons made coats of arms of it, which they put on when they joined the armies. They were at firſt ſatisfied with joining theſe ſmall ſkins, by ſewing them together, allowing the tails to hang down, the extremities of which being black, formed that diverſity of colours that is ſeen in the repreſentations of ermine ſkins.

Theſe ſkins, thus arranged, are called by Ammianus, in the paſſage which follows, 'Pelles ſilveſtrium murium conſarcinatæ ‡.' This has cauſed heralds to blazon the ermine with a ſingle name, without expreſſing the black and white, the form of the animal being ſuch, that his ſkin is naturally diverſified by theſe two colours. In proceſs of time, to render the fur more ſimple, they have retrenched the tails, and ſpotted the white ſurface with ſmall bits of the tails of Lombardy lambs, which are very black, and keeping proper diſtances, ſo that by this intermixture of black, the natural whiteneſs of the animal's ſkin was greatly heightened.

Among the nations who made the moſt uſe of theſe ſkins were the Armenians, who, according to the authority of Julius Pollux, had a particular dreſs called by the Greeks μυωτος, from being made of the ſkins

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* S. Hieron. l. 2. contra Jovin.

† Page 44.

‡ Ammianus, l. 31.

of rats, natives of that country. Αρμενιων δε ὁ μυωτος, η εκ μυων των παρ αυτοις συνυφασμενος *. Alcuinus ſeems to have expreſſed the ſenſe of this word, in his poem on Charlemagne, where ſpeaking of Bertha, his daughter, he ſays, ſhe had round her neck a fur tippet, that he calls 'Murina,' that is to ſay, the ſkin of an ermine, or rat of Pontus:

'Lactea quippe ferunt pretioſam colla murinam †.'

It is from Armenia that theſe little animals have taken the name they bear to this day, for they were firſt called rats of Pontus, 'Mures Pontici,' not from being ſea rats, as Colombiere ſtates in the 43d & 46th pages of his 'Science Heroique,' but becauſe theſe ſkins were brought to Europe from that iſland mentioned by Ælian, in the parts I have quoted, and which elſewhere he ſeems to have placed near the mouth of the Danube; or rather, and which is more probable, they were brought from the province of Pontus in Aſia: ſo in later times they have been called rats of Armenia, or at leaſt this adjective has been added to their ſkins, from the ſale of them being carried on in that province, and likewiſe from their being natives of it. Theſe ſkins were called by the vulgar 'Peaux des Hermins,' or 'd'Hermins,' in the old french language, which means 'des Armeniens,' from theſe people being uſually clad in them, according to the authority of Pollux.

In old French, Armenia was called 'Hermenie,' and Armenians 'Hermins.' Villehardouin, ſpeaking of Léon, firſt king of Armenia or Cilicia, ſtyles him 'Sire des Hermines;' and the prince, in ſome epiſtles now extant among thoſe of pope Innocent III ‡, calls himſelf 'Dominus omnium Armeniorum.' Tudebodius § uſes the word 'Herminii' inſtead of 'Armenii.' The author of the life of Louis le Gros, 'Venerunt in auxilium Soldani Iconienſis Turci duarum Hermiñiarum ||.'

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* Pollux, l. 7. c. 13.

† Alcuin. to. 2. Hiſt Fran. p. 192.

‡ Apud Odor. Raynal.

§ Tudebod. l. 2. pp. 783, 784, 785, &c.

|| Geſta Ludovic. vi. c. 6.

Froiſſart very frequently writes ‘ Hermenie’ for Armenia, as alſo the author of the romance of Garin de Loherans:

‘ Ge te donrai mon peliçon Hermin,
Et de mon col le mantel febelin.’

And in another place,

‘ Sire, aſſis l’ont Sarazin et Perſent,
Et Rox et Hongre, et Hermin et Tirant.’

Some latin authors who have ſpoken of ermine ſkins, call them ‘ Hermelline,’ ſuch as Petrus Damianus *, Albertus of Aix †, but more recently Paulus Jovius and Alexander Guaguin, in their deſcriptions of Muſcovy, make uſe of an italian expreſſion, which ſignifies any thing coming from Armenia. In like manner as they call an apricot tree, in Latin, Malus Armeniaca, ‘ d’Armellino.’ The Spaniards call the ermines ‘ Arminos,’ which is nearer to the Latin ‘ Armenia.’

There are various examples of rich furs, worn by the nobility, having been called by the names of the countries they were brought from, or where they were ſold, without ſpecifying the name or ſpecies of animal they belonged to, which I ſhall more fully ſhew when I come to ſpeak of fables; and this has not been a cuſtom of late date, but has been followed in the remoteſt antiquity.

Theſe ſkins of ermine were formerly called ‘ ſkins of Babylon,’ from having been ſold in that capital of Aſſyria which borders on Armenia. The lawyer Martian ‡ mentions it, as does St Jerome in one of his epiſtles §. The greek and latin gloſſary ſays that ‘ Beneventanum’ was a ſort of ſkin from Babylon ‖. Βαβυλωνικε δερματος ειδος.

The MS. hiſtory of Bertrand du Gueſclin ſpeaks of the cloth of Beneventum as follows:

‘ Et getta-on ſur lui un drap de Bonnivent.’

A greek author, who has written an abridgement of the hiſtory of the world, ſays that the traffic of ſkins from Babylon was carried on in

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* Lib. 2. ep. 2.

† Albert. Aq. l. 2.

‡ L. Interdum 16. § 7. D. de Public.

§ S. Hieros. ep. ad Lætam.

‖ Gloſſ. Gr. Lat.

Cappadocia. Εμποριας δε ταυτας βελτιςας πανδαχυ πεμειν αυτην λεγυσι δασυποδεισιν εσθησιν, και Βαβυλωνικον πελλιον *. And Ælian, in his books on the nature of animals †, ſhews clearly that theſe ſkins were the ſame with thoſe of Armenia, writing, that the ſkins of Babylon were ſkins of rats which were ſold to the Perſians, who prized them greatly, and made of them robes or coverlids called καννακας, mentioned likewiſe by Pollux ‡ and Ammianus §.

The modern Greeks call ermines ποντικιν ||, without adding the ſpecies of animal; and not only ermines are thus named by them, but all ſorts of rats indifferently. The ermine is a native of the northern countries as well as of the provinces of the eaſt. Juſtin, in the ſecond book of his hiſtory, ſays, that the Scythians, who inhabited the countries now occupied by the Tartars and Muſcovites, made uſe of the ſkins of rats for clothing, being ignorant of the value of wool: 'Lanæ uſus, ac veſtium ignotus; et quamquam frigoribus continuis utantur, pellibus tamen ferinis, aut murinis veſtiuntur ¶.' I make no doubt but he was ſpeaking of ermines, ſince it is well known that Muſcovy and the adjoining countries abound in theſe animals. This is alſo confirmed by Ammianus Marcellinus, when mentioning the Huns, whom ſome writers call Scythians: 'Indumentis operiuntur linteis, vel ex pellibus ſilveſtrium murium conſarcinatis **. Martin Cromer †† ſays, that the poliſh merchants carry on a great trade in them. Paulus Jovius and Alexander Guaguin ſay the ſame thing of the Laplanders, and other nations tributary to the grand duke of Muſcovy. Benjamin B. Tudela in his itinerary ‡‡, and John d'Orronville, in his life of Louis III. duke of Bourbon §§, mention that great numbers of theſe animals are found in the foreſts of Pruſſia. Alderiſius notices, in his arabian geography, that they are met with alſo in ſome foreſts of Africa ||||.

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* Alipii Antioch. Georg.

‡ Jul. Paul. l. 7. c. 13.

‖ Moſcopul. περι σχεδαν.

** Ammian. l. 31.

‡‡ Benjamin in itiner. extremo.

|||| Geogr. Nubienſ. p. 9.

† L. 17. c. 17.

§ Ammian. l. 13.

¶ Corona pretioſa. Juſtin, l. 2.

†† Cromer, l. 1. Polon.

§§ D'Orronville, c. 23.

The MS. chronicle of Bertrand du Gueſclin ſpeaks in ſeveral places of ermine ſkins that were brought from countries under the Saracens :

‘ Veſtus moult noblement de ſendaure et d'orfrois,
Et de beaus dras ouvers d'Hermins Sarazinois.’

I will not ſay more reſpecting the blazonry of ermine, for beſide that it does not belong to my ſubject, it is particularly treated of by all who have written on heraldry. I ſhall only remark, that as ermine conſtituted the arms of Brittany, it was likewiſe the device of its dukes. Brittany, king at arms, deſcribing the interment of the heart of Anne ducheſs of Brittany, ſays, that at the entrance of the church of the Carmelites, where it was depoſited, was a large ſhield quartered with the arms of France and Brittany, ſurmounted by two crowns, and encircled with a golden cord *. ‘ On the top of the aforeſaid ſhield was an ermine painted from the life, paſſant, having a fanon of ermine round its neck, on a mound vert, (which Colombiere has miſtaken for water), and a label from its mouth, with *à ma vie* imprinted on it, which is the ancient war-cry of the noble county and duchy of Brittany.’ Theſe words had not any connection with the ermine, but were the war-cry of the dukes of Brittany, although I am not ignorant they uſed alſo ‘ St Yves,’ or ‘ St Malo.’

It may have taken its riſe from a count or duke of Brittany, who, finding himſelf in great danger in battle, had implored the aſſiſtance of his people, by crying out that they were aiming at his life : this, however, is pure conjecture.

Chifflet remarks, that Frederic of Arragon inſtituted the order of the ermine in the year 1497, and that the figure of this animal hung from a golden chain †. This is all I have to ſay reſpecting the ermine : I muſt now ſpeak of the Vair, before I notice the colours that are uſed in heraldry.

All authors agree that vair was one of the richeſt furs with which princes were clothed : our heralds are ſenſible of this, and admit it in blazonry with ermine, repreſenting it like ſmall bells ſcattered over the field, ſome in their natural form, and others reverſed, but united together.

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* Cérémonial de France, p. 139. firſt edition.

† Chifflet in Anaſt. Child. c. 21.

Ceſare Vicellio, deſcribing the dreſs and robes of Ordelafo Faliero, doge of Venice, in the year 1085, and whoſe figure, in moſaic, is to be ſeen over the door of the treaſury of St Marco, ſays that his robe was lined with ſkins of vair, which he repreſents like the papelonne. The following are the words of this author, and will ſhew the great value that was formerly ſet on theſe ſkins:

'Il manto Dungue era di ſeta frigiato d'oro, et fodrato di Vari pelli, che in guei tempi erano di grandiſſima ſtima, et di qui naſce che l'armi et l'inſegne di molte famiglie nobili, fanno oltre le altre coſe queſte pelli, che chiamario Vari, et perciò ſi vede, che l'Antichi Pittori qualungue volta volevano ritrar gualche gran perſonaggio di auttorità; lo depingevano ordinariamente con un manto fodrato di queſte pelli *.'

Moſt authors write, that the vair is nothing more than a fur, made up of ſmall bits of the ſkins of ermine, and of a ſmall beaſt called a gris, which being cut triangular-wiſe, in a maſterlike manner, repreſent ſmall bells, ſome upright, others reverſed, the upright ones being of ermine, the others of gris, by which means, as the triangles become broader towards the bottom, the hair takes the form of a bell or wine glaſs, and ſome have from this imagined, that the word vair was derived from 'Verre,' and have inferred from it, that in the blazonry of vair there was no more ſolidity than in that of ermine; that is to ſay, there is no piece charged or beſprinkled. Argent is uſed to ſignify the whiteneſs of ermine, and azure the blue of vair, which is the colour moſt reſembling it, however it may be at this day improperly employed, ſubſtituting azure for vair, as black ſpots are made to repreſent ermines.

Many authors ſuppoſe the name of vair has been given to this fur on account of its variety, being intermixed with different colours, in the ſame manner to the expreſſions of ſome latin writers: 'Veſtis varia dicebatur, quæ

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* Ceſari Vecellio de gli habiti antichi et moderni del mondo, p. 42.

This quotation does not ſeem correct: for in my edition of Vecellio, Venice 1598, at page 42, is a repreſentation of 'Venetiane nobili antichi,' and at page 28. underneath is all that is ſaid of 'Ordelafo Faliero Doge, homo prudente nel governo della Rep. il corno era ſimile a quello uſato da alcuni imperatori Greci cerchiato di gioie, et oro, et le veſte arrichite di fregi d'oro, et ſotto pelle finiſſime.'

erat diſcolor, diverſiſque coloribus conſuta *;' for, according to Cicero †, 'Varietas, verbum Latinum eſt, idque proprie quidem in diſparibus coloribus dicitur.'

The Babylonians ſeem to have been the firſt inventors of theſe ſorts of intermixed furs. Zonaras relates, that when Sapor king of Perſia, who reigned at the time of Conſtantine the great, ſhewed his ſon Adanarſes, then a young child, a ſuperb tent that had been ſent him from Babylon, beautifully made of the ſkins of animals which were natives of that country, and aſked what he thought of ſo rich a preſent; he replied, that when he ſhould be king, he would make a tent, without compariſon, more exquiſite, of the ſkins of men. The author cites this as a preſage of the cruelty of this young prince, which in courſe of time made him loſe his kingdom.

This paſſage ſhews, that the ſkins from Babylon were of divers colours, like marquetry work: σκηνη ποτε τω πατρι διεκομισθη εκ Βαβυλωνος δερμασιν εγχωριοις ποικιλωτερον ειργασμενη ‡.

St Jerome, if we may believe ſome authors, in writing to Læta, ſpeaks thus of theſe mixed furs of Babylon: 'Pro gemmis et ſerico divinos codices amet, in quibus non auri et pellis Babylonicæ vermiculata pictura, ſed ad fidem placeat emendata et erudita diſtinctio.' § But I ſuſpect this paſſage muſt mean parchment or vellum of ſuch books as were ornamented with figures, paintings and miniatures; for, according to Pliny, 'Colores diverſos picturæ intexere Babylon maxime celebravit et nomen impoſuit.' ‖

However this may be, having before proved that the ſkins of which the Babylonians made robes and coverlids, were from rats; and Zonaras writing that the tent of Sapor was formed of the ſkins from that country; it may readily be ſuppoſed, that they were the inventors of vair, which they compoſed of the ſkins of ermine and gris, animals which are commonly natives of the ſame climates.

Some learned men apply to this ſubject a paſſage of Callixenes, in Athenæus ¶; but, according to my opinion, this author ſeems to ſpeak of

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* Ant. Thyleſius de Colorib. c. 13. Alciat. l. 2. Parerg. c. 1

† Cicer. l. 2. de finib.

‡ Zonar. to. 3. p. 11.

§ S. Hieron. ep. ad Lætam.

‖ Plin. l. 8. c. 48.

¶ L. 4.

the carpets of Perſia, diverſified with colours and the figures of animals; called by Plutarch δαπιδες. *

Monet, in his ‘ Inventaire des deux Langues,’ writes, that ‘ vair is a ſort of ſquirrel, whoſe fur on the upper part of his body is of a dove colour, and under the belly white: his ſkin,’ he ſays, ‘ ſerves for a lining to the mantles of kings, and is ſpotted with ſquares of dove colour and white, ſome ſmaller, ſome leſs, and theſe are called great vair and little vair.’

An author of theſe times †, ſpeaking of the Muſcovites, ſays, they are for the moſt part merchants, who traffic in the ſkins of ſables and muſk rats, which is, as he ſays, our ancient minever, whoſe fur kings and great lords formerly wore. In the accounts of Stephen de la Fontaine, maſter of the robes to the king for the years 1349, 1350, 1351, under the article of Pannes, mention is often made of the ‘ bellies of minever.’ Du Pinat, in his tranſlation of Pliny, ſeems to give the name of Roſereaux to the minevers; but, with regard to myſelf, I am of opinion, that the ſmall animals of which all theſe authors ſpeak, are nothing elſe but the Gris, which the Jew Benjamin, according to the tranſlation of Arias Montanus, names in one word ‘ Veergares,’ or Vairs-gris, ſaying that numbers of them are found in the foreſts of Bohemia: ‘ Regio omnis montoſa eſt, ſilviſque frequentiſſima, in quibus animalia illa inveniuntur, quæ Veergares dicuntur, eædemque Zibellinæ dictæ.’ ‡ The tranſlation of the emperor Conſtantine has, ‘ Veergares, alias Martes Scyticæ,’ which laſt words ſeem to have been the tranſlator’s, for ſables or martins are different from Gris.

Rolandin, in his chronicle of Padua §, praiſes the vairs of Sclavonia: nevertheleſs, the ſkins of the gris have never been valued ſo high as thoſe of vair. The ‘ Ceremonial Romain,’ ſpeaking of the copes of the cardinals, ſays, that ‘ a quarta feria Majoris hebdomadæ uſque ad Sabbatum ſanctum, ſolebant uti Cappis ſuis obſcuris cum pellibus de Griſeis, et non de Variis,’ &c. ‖

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* Plutarch, in Ageſil.

† Jean le Laboureur, in his relation of the journey of the queen of Portugal.

‡ Benjamin in itiner. p. 114. edit. Plant.

§ Roland. l. 2. c. 14.

‖ L. 3. p. 323. b.

Our late heralds *, (it is thus I term the writers of our time who have treated on blazonry) ſpeaking on the ſubject of vair, ſay, that there is a ſort of vair in heraldry, called 'beffroy de vair;' that is, when the vair is repreſented by larger lozenges, and fewer ſtrokes in it. I wiſh they had quoted ſome writer of weight as their authority for thinking this expreſſion erroneous. I ſhall with difficulty receive it. I know well, that Claude de Saint Julien, in his Melanges Hiſtoriques †, ſpeaking of the family of Bauffremont, ſays, that it bears arms that ſpeak for themſelves, meaning 'Beffroyſmont;' that is to ſay, many Beffroys: 'Upon which, it is to be remarked,' adds this writer, 'that thoſe who blazon the arms of Bauffremont, vairée or and gules, are miſtaken; for their real arms are ſprinkled with beffroys, that is, beffroys without number.' Theſe terms ſufficiently ſhew that beffroys are different from vair, which is a panne, and the other a bell, for he thus continues, 'The word Beffroy ſignified formerly a large bell, which on being ſtruck gave great alarm; that is to ſay, great fright.' I am unwilling, however, to admit this definition of beffroy, not remembering to have read any where, that the bell of the belfry was called beffroy: this name was commonly given to wooden towers that were made uſe of by beſiegers in their approaches to any town, as I have fully proved in my obſervations. It is, nevertheleſs, true, that Dominici ‡ has uſed the expreſſion to ſtrike the belfry, meaning to ſay, 'ring the bell of the belfry;' and Eſtienne Paſquier ſays, that the word beffroy is corrupted from 'd'effroy,' and that 'ſonner le beffroy' of a town, is nothing more than 'ſonner l'effroy.' However this may be, it is very probable the vair was not diſtinct from the gris, inaſmuch as the vair was compoſed of whole ſkins of the gris, which are naturally diverſified with white and grey, theſe ſmall animals having the back grey and belly white, ſo that being ſown together, without any art, they formed a variety of two colours; but they have ſince been treated like the ermines, and have been ſpeckled with ſmall pieces of black ſkins, inſtead of tails, which had the ſame effect. The vair has been

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* Gilbert de Varennes, La Colombiere.

† Page 355.

‡ Au Traité de Franc aleu, c. 22.

compoſed with the backs of the gris, and the ſkins of ermines, which have been introduced, as I have ſaid, in triangles at equal diſtances. To expreſs, therefore, the colours of vair, in blazonry, azure is uſed to ſignify the gris, and argent for the ermine. Thus to figure the gris which was in the coats of arms, azure was employed on the ſhields and bucklers, which colour was borrowed from the back of the animal, being a colour between black and white, called by the Greeks * φαιος, which a greek grammarian thus defines: φαιος ὁ μεσον λευκου και μελανος, whence has been formed the word λευκοφαιος, which is a colour between white and brown, that is to ſay, grey. Pliny and Martial have both uſed this word latiniſed †. There are even ſome who think, and with good grounds, that the colour called 'Pſeudo ſactinus,' in the life of pope St Gregory the great ‡, was nothing elſe than grey, not being quite white, and inclining to brown: in like manner as in Marcellus Empiricus, the colour of the hair of the lion is called 'Pſeudo flavus,' becauſe it is not abſolutely yellow: 'Colore pſeudo-flavo, quaſi leonino.' This author takes pleaſure in the uſe of this expreſſion 'Pſeudo-calidus, Pſeudo-liquidus,' which means half hot, and half liquid.

The ſecond colour that enters into the compoſition of arms is 'Gules.' Thoſe who have not felt the real ſignification of this word have perſuaded themſelves that it came from 'Gula,' or the gullet of animals, which commonly appearing bloody, naturally expreſſes red. But whatever probability this idea may have, it is certain that gules was a ſort of fur tinged of a red colour. St Bernard, in his epiſtle to the archbiſhop of Sens, formally tells us ſo in theſe words: 'Horreant et murium rubricatas pelliculas, quas Gulas vocant, manibus circumdare ſacratis §:' meaning it to be underſtood, by this manner of ſpeaking, that theſe furs were from rats, that is to ſay, rats of Pontus, or ermines artificially tinged.

Brunon, who lived ſometime before St Bernard, thus mentions theſe ſorts of furs in his hiſtory of the war of Saxony: 'Unus ex illis cujuſdam Nobilis ex curia cruſinam gulis ornatam, quaſi furtim præcidit ‖.' The

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* Baſil. de exercit. gramm.

† Plin. l. 32. c. 10. Martial. l. 1. ep. 97.

‡ Jo. Diac. l. 4. c. 83.

§ Epiſt. 42.

‖ To. 1. Rer. Germ. Freheri, p. 135.

word ‘ Cruſina,’ which Ditman uſes likewiſe in the 5th book of his hiſtory, ſignifies a ſort of dreſs made of furs, and is a word of the ancient Saxons. In the gloſſary of Ælfrit, ‘ Maſtruca, vel Maſtruga, Cruſne.’ In that of Somner, ‘ Cruſene, tunica ex ferinis pellibus, Maſtruca.’

Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius, in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory *, ſeems, after Theophanes †, to mention theſe ſcarlet furs κοκκινα δερματια, ‘ pelles coccineæ,’ which are, perhaps, thoſe that the emperor Conſtantine Porphyrogenetes calls δερματια αληθινα ‡, and may be thoſe tanned ſkins, and dyed ſcarlet, which Roger Hoveden calls ‘ Cordoüan vermeil § ;’ and of theſe Corippus ſpeaks, when he deſcribes the ſhoe-dreſſes of the emperors of Conſtantinople ||.

‘ Cruraque puniceis induxit regia vinclis,
Parthica campano dederant quæ tergora fuco.’

Guillaume de la Pouille ſpeaking of the imperial buskins ¶ :

——— ‘ Aſſumitur imperialis
Purpura, pes dexter decoratur pelle rubenti,
Qua ſolet, imperii qui curam ſuſcipit, uti.’

In ſhort, ‘ Le Reclus de Moliens,’ in his manuſcript Pater Noſter, ſeems to ſay, in the following verſes, that the ſkins of martins were made uſe of tinged red, and were called ‘ Sobelines engoulées,’ or enguled ſables.

‘ En tels euvres regnent Deables,
Au regne noſtre Creatour,
Ne gardent mie chu Seignour,
Qui tant ont dras outre raiſon,
Cote, ſurcot, blanchet, plichon,
Houches, mantaus, chappes fourrées,
De Sobelines engoulées.’

This may indeed allude to white martins, of which Adam de Breme ** ſpeaks as natives of Norway in his hiſtory The romance of Garin applies

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* Page 178.

† Theophan. p. 422.

‡ Conſtantin. de Adm. Imp. c. 6.

§ Hoveden, p. 715.

‖ Corrip. l. 2. de Laud. Juſt.

¶ Guil. Apul. l. 1. Rer. Norman.

** Adam Brem. c. 239.

the ſame epithet to ermines, which proves that thoſe ſkins were uſually dyed red.

‘ Si ot veſtu un Hermin engolé.’

And elſewhere,

‘ Et pardeſſus un Hermin engolé.’

In the life of the abbot of St Wolphelme, dyed ram ſkin s are mentioned, ‘ Pelles rubricatæ arietum *.’ Since that time, to expreſs this ſort of ſkin on the ſhields and bucklers, they have uſed vermilion; for in John of Saliſbury, ‘ Si autem minium, colorve alius quocumque ictu, caſuve a clypeo excidit, hoc garrula lingua, ſi licuerit, memoriale faciet in ſæculum ſæculi †.’

The third colour uſed in heraldry is Sable. Guill. Guiart ſings in the year 1304,

‘ Es pennonciaus et és bannieres,
Dont li vent tient maintes enverſes,
Reluiſent les couleurs diverſes,
Comme or, azur, argent et ſable.’

Thoſe who have ſought the derivation of this word in the ‘ ſable noir,’ of which Vetruvius ‡, Palladius §, and Thwrocz ||, in his hiſtory of Hungary have ſpoken, have been ſhamefully miſtaken, for it is a certain fact that ſable is a ſort of fur. Philippes Mouskes, in his life of Louis VIII. confirms this, in the following verſes:

‘ S’il y avoit aſſés encor
De rices dras battus à or,
De dras tains, et d’eſcarlate,
Detranciés à grans barates,
Sables, ermins, et vairs et gris,
As jouvenciaus, et as vious gris.’

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* Conrad. Monach. in vita Wolphelmi Abb. apud Sur. 20. April.

† Jo. de Sariſb. l. 6. Polchr. c. 2.

‡ Vitruv. l. 2. c. 4.

§ Pallad. l. 1. de Re Ruſt. c. 10.

|| Thwrocz. part. 2. c. 3.

A judicious author of thoſe times has ſuppoſed, with ſome foundation, that the word 'Sable' has been formed from Martin 'zebelines,' which are black *: 'Sabulum vero quod eſt nigrum, non a ſabulo deflexum, ſed a muribus Ponticis nigri coloris, quod vocant Martres Sabelinas, vel Sabulinas.'

But our author has advanced this opinion on mere conjecture, without the authority of any paſſage in his ſupport; and he is miſtaken in confounding the rats of Pontus with martins, which is clearly ſhewn from all that I have before quoted. With regard to the origin of this word, I think that martins were ſurnamed Zebelines, or Sabelines, from Zibel, or Zibelet, a town on the ſea-coaſt of Paleſtine, called by the ancients 'Biblium †,' ſituated between the town of Antioch and the caſtle of Archas, where they were ſold, and whence they were brought to Europe. As the rats of Pontus were called ſimply ermines, becauſe the ſkins of theſe animals were ſold in Armenia, it has happened, in like manner to the martins, whoſe ſkins have been called Zebelines from the town of Zebel, and, by a ſhort corruption, Zeble or Sable. William of Neufbourg, in book 2. chapter 22. calls them ſimply 'Sabellinæ,' as does Arnold de Lubeck, in this paſſage: 'Regina cuilibet Militi addidit pelles varias, et pelliculam Zobellinam.'

The romance of Garin has,

'Or te donrai mon peliçon Hermin
Et de mon col le Mantel Sabelin'

Jacques Millet, in his poem on the deſtruction of Troy, has,

'Si eſt le champ fait de broudure
De fine Marte ſabeline.'

This ſkin is called by Petrus Damianus 'Pellis Gibellinica,' at the part where he ſpeaks of the eccleſiaſtic beau: 'Hic itaque nitidulus et ſemper ornatus incedebat, ita ut caput ejus nunquam niſi Gibellinica pellis obtegeret ‡.' He means the aumuſſe, with which he covered his head.

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* Dadin. de Altaſerra, l. 3. de Duc. et Com. Provin. c. 3.

† Sanuto.

‡ Petr. Dam. l. 5. ep. 16. and l. 2. ep. 2.

It is not eaſy to diſcover the origin of the term Sinople (called vert by engliſh heralds), which heralds uſe to ſignify the colour of green in blazonry. La Colombiere is groſſly miſtaken, in ſaying that Sinople was a ſort of chalk or mineral, proper for dying green, and was found in the environs of Sinopis, a town in Aſia, for the ſinopis which he means is a red chalk, found in the mountains of Sinopis, as we learn from Auger. Buſbecquius, in the itinerary of his journey to Conſtantinople and Amaſia, although Dioſcorides * and Euſtathius † do not agree with him; for they remark, that it is not found near Sinopis, but is brought from Cappadocia, where Pliny and Strabo ſay it grows, and is ſold there ‡. In this, however, all writers agree, that ſinopis was a ſort of vermilion.

It is called Ασσυριη μιλτος, by Dioniſius §, and by Dioſcorides μιλτος Σινωπικη. Terentianus Maurus uſes indiſcriminately vermilion with ſinopis; for in one place he ſays ||, 'Inſtar tituli fulgidula notabo milto;' and in another, 'Ex ordine fulgens cui dat locum Sinopis;' and further on, 'Titulus præſcribet iſte diſcolor ſinopide.'

Marcellus Empiricus ¶, in like manner, uſes the term ſinopis with minium, or vermilion. It is true, indeed, that Vitruvius, in l. 7. c. 7. mentions a green chalk that is found in various places, and particularly at Smyrna, but this has no connection with ſinopis. I muſt own that I have been unable to diſcover the reaſon why the name of ſinople is given to furs dyed of a green colour; for I dare not aſſert, that it was on account of there being a market for them at a maritime town of Cappadocia, called by Albert of Aix, in two different paſſages, 'Sinoplum **,' and by Matteo Villani 'Sinopoli ††;' and that from the name of this town, where the Europeans carried on this traffic, they were named 'Sinople,' as the martins and rats of Pontus took their appellations from the places where ſuch furs were ſold.

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* Dioſcor. l. 6. c. 61.

† Euſtath. ad Dion.

‡ Plin. l. 35. c. 6. Strabo, l. 12.

§ Dionyſ. εν περιηγ.

|| Terent. Maur. Eguinart. in Carolo M. p. 104.

¶ Marcel. Emp. c. 14.

** Albert. Aq. l. 8. c. 18. 22.

†† Matt. Vill. l. 10. c. 63.

In the epitaph of Gilles de Chin, ſlain at the battle of Agincourt, the word Sinople is uſed to ſignify green:

‘ Puis la mort à lui s'ajouſta
En un camp couvert de Sinoble,
Ou maint Prince, et maint homme noble
Finirent en affaire militant *.’

There now remains the fifth colour, Purple, to be diſcuſſed. Although this colour is but rarely uſed in blazonry, it is, however, admitted by Jacques de Guiſe †, the author of the ‘ Songe du Verger ‡;’ by Sicily, herald at arms to the king of Arragon, in his blazonry of colours; and by others.

I ſhall report what they ſay, but ſimply remark, that in regard to blazonry, purple is a panne and ſort of peltry, thus named from its well known colour in the account of Eſtienne de la Fontaine, maſter of the robes to the king, from the 26th day of April, in the year 1350, to the 28th of Auguſt in the ſame year, incluſive, under the article of ‘ Pennes et fourrures.’ ‘ To the lining of a robe with four skins of furs, for the ſaid William Poquaire on the day of his knighthood: for the two ſurcoats, two fur linings *de groſſes pourpres*, 4 liv. 10 s. &c.’

Under the ſame article,—‘ To the lining of a robe for the wife of Michelet Gentil, which the king gave her on her marriage, and a trimming of furs of *menues pourpres*, 6 liv. pariſ.

They are alſo frequently mentioned in the following accounts, and in the cuſtoms or tolls of Paris, inſerted in a regiſter in the chamber of accounts docketed ‘ Noſter,’ where, under the title of ‘ Mercérie, are theſe words: ‘ Item, la piece de Porpre et de Meſmiaus, 4 den.’ And as this fur has never been conſidered as one of the moſt valuable, without perhaps any other reaſon than becauſe the coarſer ſkins were uſually dyed of this colour, they have been but ſeldom employed in heraldry.

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* In the proofs to the hiſt. of the houſe of Guines, p. 689.

† Jacques de Guiſe en ſes Ann. de Hain. 1ſt vol. p. 24.

‡ Songe du Verger, c. 148.

The foregoing remarks ſufficiently prove, as I ſhall hope, that what heralds have hitherto denominated colours in blazonry, are pannes and furs, and nothing more than ermines and vairs, to which they have applied their name. It is ſhewn that the names given to them, have no other origin than theſe ſorts of furs; and therefore there is no need of giving credit to the ridiculous derivations that have been made for them, or laying any ſtreſs on the unknown names for theſe colours, to prevent the ſcience of heraldry from becoming too common: 'Mirum quam ſtulta ſapientia in iſtis aſtrologicantur, philoſophantur etiam, ac theologiſſant paludati iſti Heraldi *.'

But to return to coats of arms: in public meetings, and in times of war the lords and knights were diſtinguiſhed by their coats of arms; and when they were ſpoken of, or when any one wiſhed to point them out by any exterior mark, it was ſufficient to ſay, that he wears a coat of or, argent, gules, ſinople, ſable, gris, ermine or vair; or ſtill ſhorter, he bears or, gules, &c. the word coat of arms being underſtood. Whence it is, that at this day, when we are deſirous to emblazon the arms of any gentleman, we ſay, he bears or, argent, in ſuch part. But as theſe marks were not ſufficient to diſtinguiſh in ſolemn aſſemblies, or in times of war, every lord, where all were clothed in coats of arms of gold, ſilver or rich furs; they, in proceſs of time, thought proper to cut the cloths of gold and ſilver, and furs, which they wore over their armour, into various ſhapes of different colours, obſerving, however, as a rule, never to put fur on fur, nor cloths of gold on thoſe of ſilver, nor thoſe of ſilver on gold, for that would not have given ſufficient relief, intermixing the cloths with the furs. If any coats of arms were ſeen otherwiſe, they were ſtyled *pour enquerre*, as affording reaſons to inquire why they were thus worn contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, and if there were any cauſe for ſo wearing them. This reminds me of what was ſaid by one, addreſſing a ſtatue that a magiſtrate had ordered to be erected, and dreſſed like a woman, to him who had ſlain the tyrant under this dreſs, 'Statua, ergo, tua non tranſibitur, habitus faciet, ut interrogent tranſcurrentes †.'

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* Cornel. Agrippa de Vanit. Scient.

† Quintil. Decl. 282.

When they had cut out theſe pieces of fur and cloth, they formed of them into bends, barrys, chiefs, labels, and other pieces which the heralds ſtyle charges. The prior du Vigeois thus writes in his chronicle: 'Dehinc repertæ ſunt pretioſæ ac variæ veſtes, deſignantes varias omnium mentes, quas quidem in ſphærulis et lingulis minutiſſime frepantes, picti diaboli formam aſſumunt.'

This was carried to ſuch an exceſs of expenſe, that at a council held at Gedington, near to Northampton, in the year 1188, under king Henry II. of England, the wearing any dreſſes of ſcarlet, rich furs, or ſlit coats, was ſtrictly prohibited: 'Ibi ſtatutum fuit —— in Anglorum gente ne quis eſcarleto, ſabelino, vario, vel griſeo, aut veſtibus laqueatis, aut in prandio de cibis ex empto ultra duo fercula uteretur, eo quod Rex Angliæ cum omnibus fere Angliæ magnatibus ad terram ſanctam cum expenſis erat non minimis profecturus.' Such are the words of John Brompton.

Gervaſius Dorobernenſis ſays, 'Et quod nullus habeat pannos deciſos ac laceatos vel laqueatos.' Now the word 'pannos' ſhews clearly that he means ſkins and furs.

The author of the life of St Gerlacius tells us that this holy hermit was accuſtomed to inveigh againſt this abuſe, 'Milites de percuſſione et ſciſſura veſtium, de oppreſſione pauperum, de vanitate alearum —— arguebat *.' Philippes Mouſkes calls the above 'Des dras teins, et d'eſcarlate, dètrantiès à grans barates,' in the verſes before quoted; and as young men are fond of novelties, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from their parents, who wore the ſame coats of arms, they ſlit them into pieces, which, by way of diſtinction, they hung down from the neck, or elſewhere; and it is from theſe that the 'Labels,' in heraldry, have had their origin, they not being *rateaux*, as an Engliſhman, Edward Biſſe, writes †. Frequent mention is made of them in the accounts of Eſtienne de la Fontaine, and particularly in thoſe for the year 1350, in theſe words: 'Pour 7 quartiers de Zatouin d'Inde, et 7 quartiers de fort Velluiau vermeil, pour faire deux cottes à armer, —— pour un marc 5 eſterlins, de perles blanches à ſemer le champ des dittes

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* Vita S. Gerlaci, c. 9. apud Boland.

† Biſſeus in Not. ad Upton.

cottes, faire les coppons des labeaux pour 160 groſſes perles à champoier le dit champ.'

Further on; ' Pour 24 aunes de velluiaux indes fors pour faire 2 couvertures à chevaux pour le dit ſeigneur, et pour 2 aunes de Velluiau vermeil et blanc à faire les labeaux de l'armoirie.'

Under the ſame article; ' Pour 4 pieces de cendaux indes et jaunes à faire bannieres et pannonceaux pour le dit ſeigneur, pour 2. aunes et demie de cendal blanc et vermeil à faire les Labeaux.'

After ſome time, the knights had painted on their ſhields not only the colours of the cloths of gold and ſilver, and the rich furs of their coats of arms, but alſo the figures of the cuttings out, which they had formed into bends, bar-gemels, barrys, ſaltiers, chiefs, and other pieces. They have even ſometimes added to their coats of arms figures, whether of terreſtrial animals, or birds, or ſuch like things, which they have had impreſſed on their ſhields, or perhaps may have borrowed them from their ſhields, to decorate their coats of arms, for it is certain that bucklers were ſo adorned in the remoteſt antiquity; and this is the opinion of Welſer, in the paſſage I have quoted from him.

Sometimes, among thoſe who thus diverſified their coats of arms, there were others contented to bear them quite plain, without being charged with any thing, and to preſerve on their ſhields the ſame colour they bore on their coats of arms. This explains why the counts and dukes of Brittany bear ſimple ermine on their ſhields, having only that colour on their coats of arms. Thus the lords d'Albert bear gules; the captals of Buch in Guienne, and the family of Puy-paulin, or plain: the lords de St Chaumont, gris, or azure, becauſe in their coats of arms they bore the pannes of gules, of gris, and cloth of gold.

From what I have tranſcribed from the accounts of Eſtienne de la Fontaine, it is evident that the coats of arms were not only embroidered, but enriched with pearls; and to ſuch coats the expreſſion of ' cottes brodées' of the lord de Joinville muſt refer. This embroidery was not to mark the arms of the knight, which were impreſſed in relief (probably like the Tabards of our heralds), on his coat, and were ſimilar to thoſe that were painted on his ſhield.

Guillaume le Breton ſays, in his Philippidis *:

' Quæque armaturæ veſtis conſuta ſupremo
Serica, cuique facit certis diſtinctio notis.'

And Guillaume de Nangis, in his life of Philip III. of France, ' Franci vero ſubita turbatione commoti, mira celeritate ad arma proſiliunt, loricas induunt, et deſuper picturis variis, ſecundum diverſas armorum differentias ſe diſtingunt.'

From the coats of arms being covered with the devices of the knights, they were called ' habits en deviſes.' Thus Maſuer, ſpeaking of the proofs of nobility, ſays this is one; ' Si ipſe et alii prædeceſſores ſui conſueverint portare veſtes (en deviſe) vel alias quas nobiles portare conſueverunt †.' It is in that ſenſe that Froiſſart muſt be underſtood, when he deſcribes the earl of Derby coming to Weſtminſter: ' Accompagné de grand nombre de ſeigneurs, et leurs gens veſtus chaſcun de ſa livrée en deviſe ‡;' that is to ſay, each having his coat of arms emblazoned with his arms.

Monſtrelet, in the year 1410, ſpeaking of the election of pope John XXII. ſays, that in the proceſſion ' ſe trouvérent le marquis de Ferrare, le ſeigneur de Malateſta, le ſire de Gaucourt, et des autres quarante quatre, tant ducs, comtes, comme chevaliers, de la terre d'Italie, veſtus de paremens de leurs livrées §.'

Georges Chaſtellain ||, ' armez et veſtus de cottes d'armes, deviſes et couleurs.' And Alain Chartier, in his poem entitled ' La Dame ſans Mercy,' deſcribing a knight in love, and ill treated by the rigour of his miſtreſs, repreſents him clothed in black, ' ſans deviſe;' that is to ſay, with a plain coat of arms, not emblazoned, which was a mark of grief.

' Le noir portoit, et ſans deviſe.'

It was theſe devices, on the coats of arms, that Sanuto, book 2. part 4. chap. 8. calls ' ſuper inſignia.'

Coats of arms thus emblazoned were, as Maſuer obſerves, one of the principal marks of nobility, becauſe the nobles had the ſole right to wear

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* L. 11.

† Maſuer. tit. de talliis, n. 19.

‡ Froiſſart, vol. 4. c. 114. (not Denys Sauvage's edition)—tranſlation, c. 136.

§ Monſtrelet, vol. 1. c. 62.

|| Hiſt. de Jacques de Lalain.

the hauberk or coat of mail, they alone had a right to wear the coat of arms, which was ſimply to cover their armour: and as commonly knights only wore either the one or the other in the wars, hiſtorians have thence been accuſtomed to diſtinguiſh a knight, by uſing the ſingle word of coat of arms.

Froiſſart relates, that the lord de Merode * loſt in the battle againſt the Friezlanders, in which William earl of Hainault was killed, three-and-thirty of his relations, bearing his arms on their coats †.

Monſtrelet, ſpeaking of the victory gained by the French over the Engliſh at Formigny, near Bayeux, in the year 1450, ſays, 'qu' à cette battaille furent prins priſonniers meſſire Antoine Kiriel, &c. et pluſieurs autres capitaines et gentilſhommes Anglois portans cottes d'armes ‡.'

It is an expreſſion borrowed from our french authors by Anna Comnena, in her Alexiade §, when relating the preliminaries that took place previous to the interview between the emperor Alexis, her father, and Boëmond prince of Antioch, ſhe ſays, that this prince inſiſted that he ſhould meet the emperor attended by two coats of arms, μετα δυο χλαμυδων, that is to ſay, by two knights. This princeſs thus expreſſed the coat of arms by the word 'Chlamys ||,' which was a dreſs peculiarly appropriated to knights, and thoſe engaged in war. Whence it comes, that to mark a knight, in a title-deed ¶ of Philip I. king of France in the year 1068, theſe words are uſed: 'Aimericus, quem occultabat militaris habitus et clamydis obumbrabat aſpectus.' Words taken from St Ambroſe, in the life of St Sebaſtian **, if, however, he be the author of it, which ſome of the learned ſeem to doubt.

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* He is called the lord of Merebbede in Froiſſart.

† Froiſſart, vol. 4. c. 77.—tranſlation, c. 99.

‡ Monſt. vol. 3. p. 27.

§ L. 10. p. 401.

|| L. 1. Cod. Th. de habitu quo uti oportet. Nonius. Paulin. ep. 7.

¶ In the proofs to the hiſt. des Chaſteing. p. 179.

** Vita St Sebaſt. c. 3. apud Bol.

Georges Châtellain, in his hiſtory of Jacques de Lalain, knight of the golden fleece, very often gives emblazoned coats of arms to eſquires, ſo that we may conjecture they had in later times this privilege, which was formerly confined to knights alone.

I have noticed that the furs on the coats of arms were cut into different ſhapes, to diſtinguiſh the wearers from each other. Theſe ſhapes and figures are in preſent uſe in the emblazoning of arms, but in terms ſcarcely intelligible, which will occaſion me to attempt the explanation of ſome of the moſt difficult. I have ſaid what was meant for labels, when I firſt ſpoke of theſe cut dreſſes. Faſce or Barry, according to my opinion, is what latin authors of the middle ages, have called ‘ Faſciola,’ which was a ſort of garter to tie up the hoſe. It is frequently mentioned in the conſtitutions of monaſteries. The name of ‘ Faſcia,’ is alſo given to the ſmall rochets worn by the canons regular of St Auſtin, when they go into the country, which are not more than four fingers wide, like to the ſcapulary of the monks.

The Pau, or the Pal, is nothing more than the Palus of the Latins; that is to ſay, a ſtake, whence comes our word ‘ paliſade.’ The Sautoir, or Saltier, is the ſtirrup to mount and diſmount from a horſe. The Latins of the middle age call it ‘ Strepa’ and ‘ Stapha,’ and the modern Greeks σκάλα. The ‘ Ceremonial’ in MS. ſays, that an eſquire at a tournament ought not to have a ‘ ſautoir’ to his ſaddle. In the account of Eſtienne de la Fontaine for the year 1352, under the article of harneſs, is as follows: ‘ Pour ſix livres de ſoye de pluſieurs couleurs pour faire las tiſſus, et aiguillettes auſdits harnois, faire Sautoüers, et conyeres, et treſſes à garnir la ſelle.’ The learned have remarked, that ſtirrups were firſt uſed about the reign of Conſtantine the great.

Macles, or lozenges, have derived their name from ‘ Macula,’ which Johannes de Janua interprets, ‘ Squamma loricæ,’ which was a ſmall flat piece of iron, ſquare and with a hole through it, of which hauberks were compoſed, and is what we call a coat of mail. Theſe mails or meſhes were worked one on the other, ſo that there were not any openings left between them.

Nicholas de Braya, in his life of Louis VIII. *

‘ Nexilibus maclis veſtis diſtincta notatur.’

And Guillaume le Breton,

——————————‘ inter

‘ Pectus et ora fidit maculas toracis,’ &c. †

And further on,

‘ Reſtitit uncino maculis hærente plicatis.’

Our authors have given this name to the mails of hauberks from their having the form of meſhes of fiſherman’s nets, called ‘ Maculæ ‡,’ by the Latins.

Heralds repreſent ‘ Ruſtres’ of the ſame ſhape, excepting that they were cut round. I know not if this be the inſtrument called by the Latins ‘ Rutrum,’ which is a ſort of ‘ Foſſorium, unde arenæ moventur, ubi ſal efficitur,’ as Johannes de Janua writes.

With regard to lozenges, Joſeph Scaliger thinks they were ſo called, ‘ quaſi Laurengiæ,’ becauſe they bore ſome reſemblance to the leaves of the laurel tree.

Indented, has been borrowed from thoſe parchment title-deeds called ‘ chartæ indentatæ,’ of which, as two copies were made, the parchment was irregularly cut through denticularly, to prevent their being falſified, as they would not then unite in the indentures. Thoſe who had occaſion to produce them were forced to ſhew that the denticulations agreed. Theſe deeds are called to this day, ‘ chartæ partitæ,’ but more commonly ‘ Chirographes.’ I reſerve for another place a more particular diſcuſſion about them.

‘ Les Billetes,’ which we called Billets, have the figure of a folded letter. The engliſh hiſtorians frequently uſe the word Billa for a petition. William Thorn writes, ‘ porrectæ fuerunt billæ et petitiones domino regi.’ Spelman ſuppoſes this word to have been derived from ‘ Libellus;’ others

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* Page 300.

† W. Brito, l. 2. Phil.

‡ Cicero, 7. in Verr. Stat. l. 2. Theb.

from Βιβλιον. However this may be, the word ‘ Billeta’ is uſed in the ſame ſignification. In the firſt volume, page 654. of the Monaſticon Anglicanum, is as follows: ‘ Secundum quod continetur in quadam billetta inter ſigillum et ſcriptum ante conſignationem affixa.’

But I perceive I am now entering on matter foreign to my ſubject.

DISSERTATION II.

ON THE PLEADINGS AT THE GATE, AND ON THE FORMS WHICH THE KINGS OF FRANCE OBSERVED WHEN THEY SAT PERSONALLY IN JUDGMENT.

If kings have always been jealous of their authority, and if they have affected to diſplay their power on their ſubjects as well as on their enemies, they have been as anxious to teſtify the kindneſs and moderation of their government, by the equal diſtribution of juſtice, in the eſtabliſhment of governors and judges throughout their kingdoms, to adminiſter it in their name. But as it often happens that the ſubject is oppreſſed by thoſe very perſons who have been appointed to defend him, and who having authority delegated to them for this only purpoſe, have turned it to their own perſonal advantage, recourſe has been perpetually had to kings, and the injured have been forced to lay their complaints before their thrones to obtain that redreſs from their equity, which the injuſtice of their judges ſeemed to have refuſed them. It was this which gave occaſion to our kings to eſtabliſh courts of juſtice in their palaces, and to preſide in them perſonally, to hear and decide on the complaints of their ſubjects.

When the more eſſential buſineſs of the ſtate was ſo increaſed that they could not always attend to ſuch painful taſks, they deputed in their ſtead Counts, who gave judgments in the king's name, which were in all caſes final. They ſometimes ſent theſe Counts, as I ſhall prove hereafter, into the

diſtant provinces of their realm, to inquire into the complaints of their ſubjects, and to ſpare them long and expenſive journeys to the court. Sometimes, to keep the common judges to their duty, and to watch over their actions, they ſent to all parts of their kingdom commiſſioners of juſtice, called ‘ Miſſi Dominici,’ who examined the ſentences which had been paſſed, reformed any abuſes which might have ſlipped into the diſtribution of juſtice, and received all complaints from the ſubjects of the prince.

The emperors of the eaſt, knowing that it would not be eaſy for their ſubjects to approach their palaces, or to preſent petitions to their ſacred perſons, as they were uſually ſurrounded by guards and courtiers*, for this reaſon ordered a public office to be eſtabliſhed in Conſtantinople, whither it was lawful for any one to carry his petitions and complaints, which were daily examined by the emperor, and juſtice duly rendered; whence this office was called ‘ Pittacium,’ that is to ſay ‘ Billet.’

But our kings have conducted themſelves more generouſly, and have governed their ſubjects with greater liberality and freedom: they were willing, perſonally, to receive their petitions; and that they might have uncontrolled acceſs to them, they, in ſome ſort, laid aſide their pomp and the purple, and ſeated themſelves at the gates of their palace, to render juſtice indifferently to all who ſhould come and aſk it from them. This they did in imitation of the Hebrews, who held their courts of juſtice at the gates of their towns, palaces, or temples, as well to facilitate the diſtribution of juſtice, and to give acceſs to the parties, as to deliver their ſentences in public, that they might be ſubmitted to the cenſure of all who aſſiſted at them.

It is for this reaſon we ſo often read in our hiſtories, and ancient charters, of judges in the provinces holding their aſſizes and pleadings in the fields, ſtreets, public places, before the doors, and in the burying grounds of churches; and as far as concerned the conſecrated places, ſuch meetings were forbidden by our kings in their capitularies †, when, afterward, they were held before the gates of caſtles and towns, as may be collected from the cartulary of the abbey de Vendôme: ‘ Perrexit illud Prior noſter, ivitque

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* Codin. de Orig. C. P. p. 22. edit. Reg.

† Capit. Car. c. tit. 39.

placitum in caſtro Raynaldi ante portam ipſius caſtri quæ eſt a meridie, ubi interrogatus ille quare faiſiſſet plaixitium noſtrum, reſpondit *,' &c.

This is what St Louis, and our kings, uſually practiſed, when inclined to hear the complaints of their ſubjects, and do them juſtice. They then deſcended from their thrones and apartments, and went to the gates of their palace, or to ſome public place, where acceſs to them was free to all, and there, aſſiſted by ſome of their moſt faithful counſellors, they heard petitions, and received complaints, and ſpeedily decided on the diſputes brought before them, ſo that the parties retired ſatisfied with the ſtrict juſtice that had been adminiſtered. The great facility with which St Louis allowed his ſubjects to approach him has been before well expreſſed by the lord de Joinville in the preceding hiſtory; and, a little before, the illuſtrious author informs us, that this juſtice, truly royal, ſince it was exerciſed perſonally by the king, was well known under the name of 'Pleadings at the gate,' becauſe theſe pleadings were held at the gate of the palace, where it was free for any one to come and plead his own cauſe, to urge his intereſt, and addreſs his complaints.

Since our kings have eſtabliſhed parliaments, to adminiſter juſtice to their ſubjects, they have divided them into different courts, or chambers, according to the variety and nature of the buſineſs brought before them. Such as could not be terminated by pleadings at the gate were decided in the court of pleas, which is the 'grande chambre;' the others in the courts of inqueſts. The deciſions given by theſe ſovereign courts were different; for ſome were denominated 'Arreſt,' 'Arreſta,' which were ſuch as were publicly given by the judges on the pleadings of the advocates, the formula of which was, 'Quibus rationibus utriuſque partis hinc inde auditis, dictum fuit per arreſtum curiæ,' &c.

The others were called 'Judicia,' judgments, and were thoſe given in cauſes which were reduced to writing, and in thoſe of inqueſts or 'apriſes,' made by a judge commiſſioned to this effect, who gave in his report thereon to his court: the formula of this was, 'Viſa inqueſta, et diligenter inſpecta, &c. pronunciatum fuit per curiæ judicium,' &c.

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* Tabul. Vindoc. Thuani, c. 52.

There were other deciſions called ‘ Conſilia,’ which were delays afforded to the parties, to conſider on their diſpute with their advocate, as it was not yet in a proper ſtate to be brought before the court: the formula of this was, ‘ Dies concilii aſſignata eſt tali, ſuper tali lite, ad aliud parliamentum proximum, aut ad alios Dies trecenſes,’ &c.

This has been the origin of the form of pronouncing ‘ les appointez au conſeil,’ and of written evidence. There were alſo other judgments, called ‘ Præcepta,’ or ‘ Mandata,’ which were orders ſent by the judges of the parliament, to bailiffs, ſeneſchals, or to inferior judges, by which they were enjoined to obſerve at their aſſizes, and there to have proclaimed ſuch ordinances as had been made by the parliament, or to make ſuch inqueſts as had been addreſſed to them, or returned, and generally to obey whatever orders might have been promulgated by the judges of the parliament. The formula of theſe orders was, ‘ Injunctum eſt baillivo tali,’ &c.

There were likewiſe other affairs, not of the conſequence of the preceding ones, that might be terminated by a ſingle expoſition or petition. This gave occaſion to eſtabliſh the court of requeſts, compoſed of a certain number of counſellors, from whom the king nominated two to attend his perſon, one of whom was an eccleſiaſtic, and the other a layman. They were called ‘ Pourſuivans le roy,’ and were bound to attend daily for two hours, at the uſual time and place, to receive whatever requeſts were addreſſed to them. They made oath not to forward any letters contrary to the regulations, nor to deliver any petitions, the cognizance of which belonged to the parliament, to the chamber of accounts, or to the treaſury, but to refer them to thoſe judges, according to the ſubject-matter of ſuch petitions.

They were obliged to give notice to the king of all petitions of conſequence before they decided upon them, ſuch as recompenſes for ſervice, reſtitution for damages, graces, and appeals againſt deciſions of parliament. In this their quality they were lodged, and their expenſes defrayed by the king, as is ſhewn from the ordinances of Philippes le bel in the year 1289, and of Philippes le long in the years 1317 and 1320. The ordinance reſpecting the houſehold of the king and queen, ſigned at Vincennes in the month of January 1285, which is in an ancient regiſter that has never yet

been made public, proves the ſame in the following words: ‘ Clercs du conſeil, maiſtre Gautier de Chambly, maiſtre Guillaume de Pouilly, maiſtre Jean de Puſeus, M. Jean de Morencies, M. Gilles Camelin, M. Jacques de Bouloigne, M. Guy de Boy, M. Robert de Harrecourt, M. Laurens de Vezins, M. Jean li Duc, M. Philippes Suars, M. Gilles Lambert, M. Robert de Senlis: tuit ciſt nommez me mangeront point à court, et prendront chaſcun cinq ſols de gaiges, quant ils ſeront à court, ou en parlement, et leurs manteaus, quant ilz ſeront aux Feſtes. Monſeigneur Pierre de Sargines, Gilles de Compiengne, Jean Malliere: ces trois auront les Plez de la Porte, et aura ledit Gilles autant de gaiges, comme maiſtre Pierre de Sargines, et mengera avec le chambellan.’

The regulations for the houſehold of king Philippes le long, made at Lorris in the Gâtinois, on Thurſday the 17th November, in the year 1317, more particularly ſpecify the deliveries that were to be made by the officers of the houſehold to each of thoſe who followed the court, to hear and receive petitions. ‘ De ceux qui ſuivront le roy pour les requeſtes, aura toûjours à court, un clerc et un lay, et ſe ils ſont plus, ils ne prendront riens, ſe ils ne ſont mandez et mangeront à court, et ſeront herbergiez enſemble. Et s’ils ne viennent menger à court, ils n’auront nulle livroiſon, et prandront chaſcun trois provendes d’avoine, et trente-deux deniers de gaiges chaſcun pour leurs varlets, et pour toutes autres choſes, fors que chaſcun aura couſtes et feurre à l’avenant. Et ſe les deux giſent en un hoſtel, ils auront une mole de buſche, et livroiſon de chandelle chaſcun deux quayers, et douze menuës: et ou temps qu’ils ſeront en parlement, auront douze ſols de gaiges par jour, et ne prendront nulle autre choſe à court. Maiſtre Philippes le Convers clerc des requeſtes pourra venir à court toutes les foiz qu’ il lui plaira, non contreſtant la clauſe deſſuſditte d’endroit ceux des requeſtes, et mangera ſon clerc en ſalle, et ſon eſcuier aura trois provendes d’avoine, pour toutes choſe, et n’aura rien plus, ne gaiges ne autrement.’

From theſe ordinances and regulations, we learn, firſt, why the maſters of requeſts who ſucceeded to theſe judges at the gate, have ſtill what is called ‘ le droit de manteau;’ which was nothing more than what belonged

to all the officers of the king's houſehold, to whom liveries as well as mantles were given on the ſolemn feaſts, and at the four ſeaſons of the year.

In the ſecond place, it reſults that theſe judges at the gate, were daily gueſts of the king, and, in this quality, eat with the other officers of his houſehold, having a right to a delivery of wood and other things.

This rank of king's gueſts is as ancient as the monarchy, our kings having always acknowledged the officers of their houſeholds under the illuſtrious appellation of 'Convivæ regis.' The ſalique law proves it in theſe words: 'Si quis hominem romanum convivam regis occideret,' &c. And the law of the Burgundians: 'Quicumque hoſpiti venienti tectum aut focum negaverit, 3 ſolidorum in latione mulctetur. Si conviva regis eſt 6 ſolidos mulctæ nomine ſolvat.'

In the life of the abbot St Agilles, written by a contemporary author, is as follows: 'Fuit quidam ex primis palatii optimatibus——nobiliſſimis natalibus oriundus, ejuſdemque regis (Childeberti) conviva et conſiliarius, nomine Anohaldus.'

Jonas, in the life of St Columban 'Chanericus,' writes, 'Theodeberti regis conviva.' In ſhort, Fortunatus, ſpeaking of 'Coudon domeſtique,'

'Juſſit et egregios inter reſidere Potentes,
Convivam reddens proficiente gradu.'

I nevertheleſs acknowledge that this title is not the invention of our kings, but think it probable that they may have borrowed it from the roman emperors, ſince Claudian ſeems to have pointed it out in the following verſes:

'——— claro quod nobilis ortu,
Conviva et domini.'

So that it may be ſuppoſed the enſuing extract from the theodoſian code refers to them: 'qui et divinis epulis adhibentur, et adorandi principis facultatem antiquitus meruerunt.'

But laying aſide all that may be ſaid relative to this quality of gueſts or ſervants of the king's houſehold, I obſerve, that our princes continued this cuſtom of hearing and judging complaints in perſon, which had for a long time been introduced into their courts, and in particular by St Louis.

Charles V. when regent, confirms this by an edict of the 27th February, in the year 1359, and lays down a regulation for the obſerving it, as follows: ‘ Nous tiendrons requeſtes en la preſence de noſtre grant conſeil, chaſque ſemaine deux fois. Nul de nos officiers de quelque eſtat qu' ils ſoient ne nous feront requeſtes, ſi ce n'eſt par leur perſonnes, ſinon noſtre chancelier, et nos conſeillers du grant conſeil, nos chambellans, nos maiſtres de requeſtes de noſtre hoſtel, noſtre confeſſeurs, et noſtre aumoſnier.’

Charles VI. by his ordinance of the 7th January 1407, commands, ‘ que le vendredy ſoit adonné à lui ſéant en un conſeil pour repondre les requeſtes des dons, graces, et autrement, que ſeront rapportés par les maiſtres des requeſtes.’

So that we ſee by theſe edicts, our kings have always affected to render juſtice in perſon to their ſubjects; and that the maſters of requeſts have been firſt taken from the members of the court of requeſts of the parliament; that their firſt function was to make a report to the king of the petitions made to them, to decide upon them with him, and ſometimes without the king, as the lord de Joinville very eloquently proves, as follows:

‘ St Louis, on coming out of church, aſked the lord de Neele, the count de Soiſſons and myſelf, how things went on, and if there were not ſome petitioners that might be diſpatched without his preſence. When there were any, they informed him of it, and the king ſending for them, aſked why they could not be ſatisfied with the deciſions of his officers?’

This evidently ſhews, that the maſters of requeſts had, at the beginning of this inſtitution, juriſdictions of their own, in the abſence of the kings, who in time grew tired of this painful buſineſs, and diſpenſed themſelves from attending to it, being beſides overwhelmed with the weight and multiplicity of public affairs. This occaſioned their number to be increaſed; but Philippes de Valois by an edict of the 8th April 1342, reduced them to ſix; three clerks and three laymen. As they ſtill increaſed, Charles V. when regent, by an ordinance of the 27th February 1358, reduced them to eight; four clerks and four laymen; as did alſo Charles VIII. by his declaration of the 5th February 1488. From that period, the number of maſters of requeſts, as well as their powers, have been remarkably augmented, more eſpecially ſince the venality of offices has been introduced in France.

With regard to the ſalaries of the firſt maſters of requeſts, I have noticed them in the account of taxes impoſed for the deliverance of king John, beginning the firſt day of April 1368, in theſe terms: ‘ Maiſtre Pierre Bourneſeau, clerc et maiſtre des requeſtes de l'hoſtel du roy, lequel icelui ſeigneur a retenu ſon conſ. et maiſtre des requeſtes de ſon hoſtel, au lieu de maiſtre Anceau Chotart, et lui a ottroyé le roy que il ait tel gaiges, comme prenoit ledit feu Anceau en ſon vivant, c'eſt à ſavoir ſix cent francs par an, et iceux gaiges luy a aſſigné à prenre des deniers des aides *.’

As judges readily take every opportunity to augment or extend their juriſdictions, it has been thought proper, from time to time, to limit and reſtrain thoſe of the maſters of requeſts. Philippes de Valois, at the concluſion of the ſtates general, holden at Nôtre Dame des Champs, near Paris, iſſued the following ordinance on this ſubject, the 15th February 1345: ‘ Comme pluſieurs de nos ſujets ſe ſoient dolus de ce qu'ils ſont travaillez par devant les maiſtres de nos requeſtes, nous ordonnons que les dits maiſtres des requeſtes de noſtre hoſtel n' aient pouvoir de nul faire adjourner par devant eux, ne tenir court, ne cognoiſſance, ſi ce n'eſt pour cauſe d'aucun office donné pour nous, duquel ſoit debat entre parties, ou que l'en feiſt aucune demande pure perſonelle contre aucun de noſtre hoſtel. Item, par tele maniere ordonnons que les maiſtres de noſtre hoſtel, de noſtre dite Compagne, et de nos dits enfans n' ayent aucune connoiſſance, ſi ce n'eſt des perſonnes de noſtre hoſtel, ou cas que l'on feroit quelque demande pure perſonelle.’

And further on: ‘ Item, pource que pluſieurs ſe doulent des dits maiſtres de noſtre hoſtel, de ce qu'ils taxent pluſieurs amendes exceſſivement, et en prenans grans profits, nous ordonnons que nule amende ne ſoit taxée par eux, ſe ce n'eſt en noſtre preſence, quant nous orrons nos requeſtes.’

I ſhall paſs over, in this place, what might have been ſaid reſpecting the juriſdiction of the maſters of requeſts, as it would carry me farther than I intend. I ſhall only obſerve that many ſuppoſe the words in both editions of our author, reſpecting the pleadings at the gate, ‘ at preſent called the requeſts of the palace,’ are not his own, but have been added to the text by

* In the chamber of accounts at Paris.

way of explanation. This is probable, not becauſe the eſtabliſhment of the requeſts of the palace was poſterior to the times of the lord de Joinville, as is pretended, but becauſe the requeſts of the palace, and the requeſts of the hôtel were different, although thoſe of the hôtel were originally part of the parliament, as I have noticed.

The ancient ordinances, reſpecting the eſtabliſhment of parliaments, fully prove, that there were judges named and deputed to the requeſts. One of the year 1261, drawn from a regiſter of the chancery of France, ‘ Per totum parlamentum pro requeſtis audiendis qualibet Die ſedeant tres perſonæ de conſilio noſtro,’ &c. Another, without date, but of the ſame period, has, ‘ A oïr les requeſtes ſeront deux clercs et deux lais, et deux notaires qui neant ne recevront par leur ſerment, et ce que ils delivreront li chancelier ſera tenu à ſeeler ſi comme il eſt deſſus dit, et ce qu’il ne pourront delivrer, il rapporteront à ceux de la chambre.’

The ordinance of Philippes le long, in 1300, ſpeaks as fully of the maſters and judges of requeſts of the parliament, which Charles VII. reduced into a ſeparate body, compoſed of preſidents and counſellors, by his edict of the 15th of April 1453.

Such, then, has been the form obſerved by our kings, particularly of the laſt race, to adminiſter juſtice in perſon to their ſubjects; for with regard to what was done by thoſe of the firſt and ſecond race, I ſhall reſerve what I have to ſay, until I come to treat, hereafter, of the counts of the palace: but as the government of that great and auguſt king, St Louis, was full of juſtice, truth and fidelity, our kings have always held him up as a pattern for their good acts, and a rare example to follow; inſomuch, that they imitated him in attending to the complaints their ſubjects made during the aſſembling of the ſtates, as well as on other occaſions: when the coin was debaſed, they granted that it ſhould be reſtored to the ſame ſtate as it was during the reign of this holy king.

Thus Charles VIII. having intentions to labour at the reformation of his kingdom, and well knowing that it behoved a great prince, like him, to hear himſelf the complaints of his people, and to grant them audiences on preſſing occaſions, when they could not obtain juſtice from the uſual judges, made exact inquiry, as to the manner in which St Louis acted when he ſat

in judgment, and wrote a letter on this ſubject to the chamber of accounts at Paris, the original of which was communicated to me by monſieur d'Herouval, of whom I have ſo often ſpoken; and as it deſerves being made public, I ſhall cloſe this diſſertation with a copy of it.

'A nos amez et feaux les gens des nos comptes a Paris, de par le roy. Nos amez et feaux parce que nous voulons bien ſçavoir la forme que ont tenu nos predeceſſeurs rois a donner audience au pauvre peuple, et meſmes comme monſeigneur S. Loys y procedoit: Nous voulons et vous mandons qu'en toute diligence, faites rechercher par les regiſtres et papiers de noſtre chambre des comptes ce qui s'en pourra trouver, et en faites faire un extrait, et incontinent après, le nous envoyez. Donné a Amboiſe le 22 jour de Decembre.'

(Signed) 'CHARLES.'

And lower down, 'Morelot.'

This paper was docketed, 'Reported the 30th day of December, 1497.'

DISSERTATION III.

ON FRERAGE AND PARAGE.

Our ancient laws give the name of 'Frerage,' or of 'Frareſche,' to the diviſion of property, after a deceaſe, among brothers*; whence it comes that the words 'Frareſcheurs,' and 'Co-heirs' are commonly uſed as ſynonimous terms; and in the regulations of St Louis, 'freragier' is to make a partition among co-heirs. But the word 'frerage' was particularly uſed to denote a diviſion of things which in themſelves ſeemed indiviſible: for example, a fee-farm rent, of which the poſſeſſors of the land, though many in number, are bound to pay the whole amount as brethren, and repreſentatives of the firſt poſſeſſor, their benefactor. This expreſſion is often uſed for the diviſion of fiefs, the homages for which were formerly indiviſible, becauſe they only paid to the lord paramount for one, which comprehended the whole of the fiefs they held under them; ſo that when they were divided, and ſome portion of them fell to the younger children by right of Frerage; that is to ſay, by a diviſion among brothers; the youngeſt did homage to the elder, who paid homage for the whole to the lord paramount.

There are many title-deeds which uſe the word Frerage in this ſenſe.

Choppin reports an arrêt of the parliament in the year 1269, in the preamble of which it appears, that a counteſs of Leiceſter, 'petebat ratione

* Couſt. d'Anjou, du Maine, de Poictou, &c.

Fraragii partem ſuam,' in the county of Angoulême. The count maintained, on the contrary, that his county, 'non erat partabilis, niſi per apanamentum;' that is to ſay, that he was only bound to grant her from it an annuity for her life, for that neither Frerage nor Parage could be claimed from baronies. Matthew lord of Montmorency, when treating of the marriage of his brother Erard with Jane de Longueval, in the year 1296, promiſes to give his ſaid brother Erard five hundred livres yearly in Frerage, by ſettlement on his eſtate of Montmorency.

In a regiſter of the 'Tréſor des Chartes du Roi,' 'Domina Margareta, vicecomitiſſa quondam Thoarcenſis eſt fœmina ligia domini comitis, et tenet ab eo caſtellaneum de Bridiers. Item, quidquid habet in honore de Coperniaco, ratione Frareſchiæ ſuæ.' There are other ſimilar titles in the proofs of the hiſtory of Auvergne by M. Juſtel, which make uſe of the word de 'Frayreſchia,' in this ſenſe.

In regard to what I have advanced, that the younger brethren did homage to the elder for the diſmembered portions of the fief, I am juſtified in it by a homage, done at Paris the 19th of October of the year 1317, to William de Melun, archbiſhop of Sens, by John, Robert and Louis de Melun, his brethren, 'Tanquam primogenito, cauſa Fratriagii, et prout Fratriagium de conſuetudine patriæ requirebat, ratione Caſtri de S. Mauricio *.'

This took place, not only when a ſingle fief was diſmembered, but when there were many that were held under one lord; for when a diviſion was made of all the fiefs between the elder and younger children, ſuch as fell to the youngeſt were held by them under the elder by right of Frerage, and they were obliged to do him homage for them, who in his turn paid homage for himſelf and brothers to the lord paramount: for example, William de Nangis † writes that the lands of Boves near Amiens, of which much is ſaid in the hiſtory of Philippes Auguſte, and that of Gournay, had been diſmembered from the lordſhip of Coucy; 'Terra de Bovis, et de Gornaio a terra de Couciaco per Fraternitatis partitionem deciſa fuerat:' and for this

* Reg. du Parlem. commençant en 1316. fol. 340.

† Nangius in S. Lud. an. 1256.

cauſe the lands of Boves are at this day held under the lordſhip of Coucy, although they are very diſtant from it, and have no other connection with the lordſhip but ſolely becauſe they had been divided among the younger children of Coucy, to the elders of whom the youngers did homage, according to the uſage received time immemorial in France, as we learn from Otho de Friſinghen:

'Mos in illa, qui pene in omnibus Galliæ provinciis ſervatur, remanſit, quod ſemper ſeniori fratri, ejuſque liberis, ſeu maribus, ſeu fœminis, paternæ hereditatis cedat auctoritas, cæteris ad illum, tamquam ad dominum reſpicientibus *.'

The reaſon of this uſage was, according to my opinion, that as ſeveral lands were held by vaſſals under the ſame lord, one homage alone was paid, as if all theſe fiefs were united in the homager and in his ſole poſſeſſion; for it was a truth, that ſince there was but one vaſſal for all theſe fiefs, there ought not to be more than one homage paid, provided the tenures of theſe different lands were not held on ſeparate conditions.

In this caſe, then, the homager did homage for all theſe fiefs, ſpecifying the conditions on which each fief ſeparately was held, and the homage annexed to them. This cuſtom was beſide firſt introduced for the advantage of the lord paramount, who was unwilling that his homages ſhould be divided: ſo far, therefore, was his fief from being diſmembered, or its ſervices diminiſhed, that it was increaſed; for in times of war all the younger branches who held under the elder ranged themſelves under his banner with their ſub-vaſſals, and added conſiderably to his ſtrength.

On the other hand, the poſſeſſors of fiefs were much intereſted in preſerving the homages of their younger branches, and not diminiſhing ſuch fiefs by any diſmemberment, which would to them have been very prejudicial; for the ſervice due to them from their fiefs would have been transferred to the lord paramount, who indeed would not have been ſo much advantaged himſelf as the vaſſal would have ſuffered loſs.

It was in right of frerages that the counts de Blois and de Sancerre held their counties from the count of Champagne, their elder, for they had

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* Oth. Friſ. l. 2. de Geſt. Frid. c. 29.

had them in partition, or ‘ frereſche ;’ and theſe fiefs were originally held under one and the ſame lord, namely, the king of France. The letter of Geoffry de Ville-hardouin, marſhal, and of Miles de Braibans, grand bouteiller de Romanie, to Blanche, counteſs of Champagne, quoted in the obſervations on the hiſtory of Ville-hardouin, has, ‘ Sciatis quod Comes Theobaldus Bleſenſis, et Comes Sacricæſaris ſunt veſtri homines ligii, et quidquid poſſident, eſt de feodo veſtro: et Sacrumcæſaris eſt veſtrum prædium, ſed eum Comes tenet in feodum de Campaniæ Comitatu.’

Theſe counts were not only vaſſals of Champagne for theſe two fiefs, or counties, but likewiſe for ſeveral other lands, ſpecified in the regiſter of the fiefs of Champagne, which they alſo held by right of frerage. I have made the following extract to ſhew what was the acquiſition St Louis made in the county of Champagne, mentioned by the lord de Joinville. ‘ Comes Carnotenſis et Bleſenſis tenet Comitatum cum omnibus feodis appendentibus a Comite Campaniæ, et eſt ſuus homo ligius, et Chaſteldun, et la Ferté de Vilenuel cum feodis eiſdem appendentibus: et Bleſium, et Caſtrum Renardi, et le Maantiz, et Marchaiſnay, et Alueel, et Galardun, quæ ſunt de feodo Carnoti, cum omnibus feodis appendentibus : et Beaugenci, et Braceaux, et Vierſin : Comes Andegaviæ tenet Turonum a Ludovico Comite Carnoti, Ludovicus Comes a Domino Campaniæ cum feodis appendentibus. Dominus de Ambaſia tenet Calvum montem a Ludovico Comite de feodo de Bleſio, Ludovicus Comes a Domino Campaniæ cum feodis appendentibus. Dominus de Virſun tenet Virſun a Ludovico Comite, Comes Ludovicus a Domino Campaniæ. Item, Dominus de Virſun tenet Maneſtont a Com. Lud. Comes Ludov. a domino Camp. Dominus de S. Aniano tenet ſanctum Anianum, et Celum, et Remorentin, et Veſtam a Ludovico comite de honore de Bleſio : et Comes Lud. tenet hoc a Domino Camp. et Nogentum le Rotrou ſimiliter, et Brai.

‘ Comes de Sacro-Cæſaris tenet Sacrum-Cæſaris cum omnibus feodis appendentibus a Domino Camp. et omnia quæ Dominus Erchambaudus de Soilliaco tenet in Bituria de feodo Sacri-Cæſaris, et omnia quæ Comes Sacri-Cæſaris habet apud Cercium, et quidquid habet apud Concorceaut, et quidquid habet apud S. Briccium in feodo et in Domanio, et quidquid habet apud Chaſtillun ſuper Loein, tenet Comes Sacri-Cæſaris a Domino

Campaniæ, et quidquid tenet eſt Alodum præter S. Briccium, et ——— quod Comes Campaniæ tenet a Domino Rege, et ipſe a Comite.'

Since it appears, for the reaſons before given, that the barons had no great intereſt that younger brothers ſhould hold under their elders thoſe parts of fiefs that had fallen to them by partition, many, therefore, during the reign of Philippes Auguſte, made efforts to extinguiſh this uſage. In fact, Eudes duke of Burgundy, Renaud count de Boulogne, the count de St Paul, Guy de Dampierre, and ſeveral great lords of France aſſembled, and unanimouſly agreed, ' Ut a primo die Maii quidquid tenetur de domino Ligie, vel alio modo ſi contigerit per ſucceſſionem hæredum, vel quocumque alio modo diviſionem inde fieri, quocumque modo fiat, omnes qui de illo feodo tenebunt, de domino feodi principaliter, et nullo medio tenebunt, ſicut unus antea tenebat, priuſquam diviſio facta eſſet, et quando cumque contigit pro illo totali feudo ſervitium domino fieri, quilibet eorum, ſecundum quod de feodo ille tenebat, ſervitium tenebitur exhibere, et illi domino deſervire, et reddere rachatum et omnem juſtitiam.'

A memorandum is added to the above, that this reſolution only reſpected futurity, and was to take place from the firſt of May next enſuing. Theſe barons obtained the authority of king Philippes Auguſte for what they had done, who iſſued his letters accordingly, the firſt day of May, from Villeneuve le Roi, near Sens, in the year 1209. They are inſerted in a regiſter of this king, now belonging to M. d'Herouval; alſo in the commentaries of M. Pithou on the ' Coûtume of Troyes;' in the ' Contredits' of M. de la Gueſle, procureur général du parlement for the county of St Paul; and in Choppin.

I believe it is this ordinance to which the biſhop of Beauvais refers, in an ancient arrêt, of the year 1254, in theſe terms: ' Epiſcopus Belvacenſis dicebat quod rex Philippus tempore ſuo ſtatuerat, quod de partibus terræ, quas fratres fratribus vel ſororibus faciebant, non ad ipſos fratres, qui partes faciebant fratribus vel ſororibus ſuis, homagia dictarum partium veniebant, ſed ad dominos, de quorum feodo ipſi fratres annati tenebant dictas partes, quas faciebant.'

I have copied this extract from the arrêt to ſhew, that the reſolution of the barons was made with the authority of the king, and in form of an

ordinance; but as it was done without the participation of the vaſſals, who were not conſulted, it had not any effect, at leaſt only a partial one, which may be conjectured from the ſpirit of the arrêt, of the year 1317, in favour of the archbiſhop of Sens, of which I have ſpoken.

It ſeems, however, that in proceſs of time ſome qualifying amendment was added to this ordinance, by giving liberty to younger children to hold fiefs of their elder, or of the lord paramount of their elder's fiefs, in which caſe they were ſaid to hold lands as nobly as their elder brother. This liberty is expreſſed in the coûtumes of Mante, of Senlis, of Troyes, of Anjou, and others. There are, however, ſome who inſiſt, that the younger branches can in this caſe hold only for the firſt time of their elders. The tenure in 'Parage' greatly reſembles the tenure in 'Frerage.' The tenure of parage, according to Bouteiller *, is when the elder making a partition with his younger brothers or ſiſters, gives up to them a part of his fief; for example, a third, or leſs, according to the eſtabliſhed uſage, then the younger branches hold in parage from their elder, that part which has fallen to them, 'par la raiſon de parage et de ſucceſſion.' The elders do homage to 'the lords paramount for themſelves and the younger branches, who hold from their elders by parage without homage.' Such are the terms in the Coûtume de Normandie †.

The tenure by parage differs from that of frerage in this, that by the laſt the younger brother is bounden to do homage to his elder, from the moment he takes poſſeſſion of part of the fief, which was not the caſe with regard to the poſſeſſor of the fief in parage, for he was only bound to do homage to his elder in three caſes; firſt, when the relationſhip was ſo extended, that the two parties might marry without a diſpenſation: by the Cuſtom of Normandy, this was reduced to the ſixth degree; by thoſe of Tours and Anjou, to the fourth. Secondly, when the partition to the younger children was transferred to ſtrangers. Thirdly, when the 'Parageau' ſhould do homage to the lord paramount, without the conſent of his elder, who might, in this caſe, force the younger to do him homage. Bouteiller

* Bout. en ſa ſomme rurale, tit. 84.

† Couſt. de Norm. ch. 9. art. 128.

adds, that the ‘ Puiné tient ſon Parage auſſi noblement que l'ainé fait le gros.’

This is alſo expreſſed in the Coûtume of Anjou: ‘ et qu' en tenure de parage l'ainſné, a ſus celluy, qu' ainſi tient, la juſtice et contrainte de ſes rentes, et des ſervices qui appartiennent au ſeigneur ſouverain, de tort fait a luy, ou a ſes gens, et de non plus de choſe.’

By the Cuſtom of Orleans, he who holds lands in parage has the ſame right of juſtice with his elder, and is only bound to do ſuit and ſervice to the lord paramount. The Cuſtom of Anjou ſays, that this is the caſe in which the vaſſal may diſmember his fief to the prejudice of the lord paramount. That of Poitou ſays the ſame in theſe words:

‘ Et eſt un cas, auquel le vaſſal peut empirer le fief de ſon ſeigneur. Car ce qui eſtoit directement en ſon fief, n'eſt plus qu' en ſon arriere-fief.’

In this Coûtume, the elder ‘ Parager’ is called ‘ Chemier,’ a word miſunderſtood by the interpreters. But it ought to be written ‘ Chemiez;’ that is ſay, ‘ Chef de mez,’ ‘ Caput manſi,’ the elder or head of the houſe. In the cartulary of the church at Amiens is, ‘ Cum verò Caput manſi obierit, debet 7 ſol. pro revelatione.’

I paſs over the other circumſtances regarding Parages, becauſe theſe matters have been amply treated of by the commentators on ſuch Coûtumes as ſpeak of them.

Bouteiller ſays, that lands are ſuppoſed to be held in parage, becauſe the elder, as well as the younger children, ‘ ſont paraux de lignage;’ that is to ſay, equal, and ſprung from the ſame family. And as parage only took place between nobles, and for things ſubject to homage, as is ſpecified in the Coûtume of Anjou, the word parage has been in time uſed ſynonimouſly for nobility; not for the reaſon Choppin gives, ‘ quod *Parium* dignitate ſoli honeſtentur nobiles, natalibuſque generoſi;’ but becauſe thoſe who held lands in parage were noble, and of equal birth and rank with their elders. Whence the conſtitutions of Sicily ordain, that the barons are bound to marry the daughters of ſuch knights and citizens as they may have in wardſhip, ‘ pro modo facultatum, et ſecundum paragium;’ that is to ſay, according to the rank and quality of their families; inſomuch that if a baron acted otherwiſe,

it was ſaid, that he ‘ déparageoit’ his ward, which latin writers expreſs by the word ‘ diſparagare,’ as we ſhall ſee hereafter *.

The laws of France, according to the uſages of the chaſtellet of Paris, of Orleans, and of the baronage, ſay, that if any one ſhould cauſe himſelf to be created a knight, ‘ et ne fuſt pas gentilhomme de parage, tout le fuſt-il de par ſa mere,’ he could not claim that honour by right, and the king or his lord, in whoſe caſtlewick he might be, could cut off his ſpurs on the dunghill, and ſeize on all his moveables to his profit, ‘ Car uſage n’eſt mie que femme affranchiſſe homme, mais li hom franchiſt la femme.’

It reſults then from theſe words, that a gentleman of parage meant a gentleman of noble birth by the father’s ſide; for, according to the lord de Beaumanoir, ‘ gentilleſſe ſi eſt tousjours rapportée de par les peres, et non de par les meres †,’ which muſt be underſtood to mean nobility by blood, and not nobility by renown and arms, which will be hereafter treated of.

In fact, I obſerve, that the word parage is employed by writers for nobility by blood; and to be iſſue of ‘ haut parage,’ is to be deſcended from an illuſtrious family.

The romance of Garin has,

‘ Jà ès tu riche, et trop de haut parage,
Quatorze Comtes as tu de ton lignage.’

In William Guiart,

‘ Pris i fu Mahieu de Mailly,
Comment quant roy de France annuie,
Et meſſire Pierre de la Truye,
Et maint autre de haut parage.’

On the contrary, ‘ bas parage’ is from a family leſs noble. In the ‘ Doctrinal,’ MS.

‘ Celui qui vaillans eſt, et bel le ſet avoir,
S’il eſt de bas parage, ne vos en puet caloir.’

So that Parage is nothing more than Parentage, and may perhaps have been an abridgement of Parentage, as Barnage is for Baronage.

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* Differt. X.

† Beaumanoir, ch. 45.

In the ſame romance of Garin,

‘ Ne me laiſſiez vergonder et honnir,
Toz nos parage en eſteroit plus vil.’

And in another place,

‘ Maugré en aient Fromond et ſi ami,
Et li parage, quanques vos eſtes ici.’

There was in Catalonia a ſort of gentlemen called ‘ Homens de paratge,’ who were different from other knights. The ſpaniſh hiſtorians deduce their origin from Raymond Borel, count of Barcelona, who being in want of knights and ſoldiers to expel the Moors from Barcelona, granted certain franchiſes and military honours to ſuch, and to their deſcendants, as were willing to follow him on horſeback in this war; and thoſe who came, amounting to nine hundred, were called ‘ hommes de parage,’ from being equal among themſelves in honour and rank. The kings of Arragon, in after times, created others, with prerogatives ſimilar to thoſe of the knights above mentioned, from whom they differ only in name. I ſhould, however, imagine they were thus called, from having in courſe of time paſſed for perſons of the higheſt nobility.

The biſhop of Madaura ſays, that the town of Metz was formerly governed by nobles, who were divided into five bodies, called, ‘ Parages,’ or ‘ Paraiges,’ and who were ſo many families, in whoſe privileges their children participated *. This has cauſed M. Pithou to ſay, ‘ qu’ à Mets, la mere part au patriciat de Mets, dit Parage, id eſt, liberos pares gignit †.’

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* Hiſt. des Evêques de Metz en la preface, p. 17.

† Pithou ſur la Couſt. de Troies, art. 1.

DISSERTATION IV.

ON THE SOLEMN ASSEMBLIES OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE.

On the firſt eſtabliſhment of the french monarchy, our kings choſe one particular ſeaſon of the year for a general aſſembly of their ſubjects, to hear their complaints, to make new regulations and laws, which required, for their promulgation, to have the conſent of all. They, at the ſame time, reviewed their troops and armies, for which reaſon ſome writers have aſſerted, that theſe meetings were called ‘ Champs de Mars,’ from the name of the deity that preſided over war. Gregory of Tours, ſpeaking of Clovis, ſays, ‘ Tranſacto vero anno juſſit omnem cum armorum apparatu advenire Phalangam, oſtenſuram in Campo Martio ſuorum armorum nitorem *.’ In truth, it ſeems that our countrymen gave this name to the general reviews of the troops, copying the Romans, who were accuſtomed to hold them in the Campus Martius, near the city of Rome, and likewiſe to exerciſe their ſoldiers there. We read that the greater part of the principal towns in the provinces dependant on Rome had, in imitation of that city, their Campi Martii cloſe to the walls †. This is noticed in the life of St Eleutherius in reſpect to Tournay, of which he was biſhop ‡. Girolamo della Corte ſays the ſame in regard to Verona §, and Welſer, of ſeveral other towns ||.

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* Greg. Tur. l. 2. Hiſt. c. 27.

† Aimoin. L. 1. c. 12. Geſta Fran. c. 10. V. Autor. cit. a Roſino, L. 6. c. 11.

‡ Vita. S. Eleuther. c. 2. § 5.

§ Hiſt. de Verona, L. 7. p. 415.

|| Welſer, L. 5. Rer. Vend.

Pollio, in his life of the emperor Claudius, ſhews clearly that theſe military exerciſes were performed in the open country: 'Fecerat hoc etiam adoleſcens in militia, cum ludicro martiali in campo luctamen inter fortiſſimos quoſque monſtraret*.'

It is, however, more probable, that theſe aſſemblies were thus named from their taking place in the beginning of the month of March. The chronicle of Fredegaire, ſpeaking of Pepin, ſays, 'Evoluto anno præfatus rex a Kal. Mart. omnes Francos, ſicut mos Francorum eſt, Bernaco villa ad ſe venire præcepit†.' A charter of Dagobert is ſigned 'Die calendarum Martiarum in compendio Palatio‡,' which was the day on which theſe aſſemblies commenced. There is even reaſon to believe that our anceſtors dated their year from this period, which may be collected from the decree of Taſſillio duke of Bavaria, 'Nec in publico mallo tranſactis tribus kalendis Martiis poſt hæc ancilla permaneat§.' For what is here called 'Mallum publicum,' is named 'Placitum' in the chronicle of Fredegaire||. 'Conventus (in this paſſage of Aimoin) Bituricam veniens, conventum, more Francico, in campo egit¶.' Elſewhere he calls it 'Conventus generalis.'

This cuſtom of aſſembling the people, on the firſt day of March, was regularly continued under the firſt race of our kings; but Pepin, judging this ſeaſon improper for the review of his troops, and ſtill more ſo for their taking the field, changed it to the firſt day of May. This we learn alſo from Fredegaire: 'Ibi placitum ſuum campo Madio, quod ipſe primus pro campo Martio pro utilitate Francorum inſtituit, tenens, multis muneribus a Francis et proceribus ſuis ditatus eſt**.' Some annaliſts relate that this change took place in the year 755; and the author of the life of St Remy, archbiſhop of Rheims, plainly affirms that it was for the reaſon I have juſt ſaid: 'Quem conventum poſteriores Franci Maii campum, quando reges ad bella ſolent procedere, vocari inſtituerunt.'

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* Trebel. Poll. in Claudio.

† Chr. Fred.

‡ In Chr. Fontanell. c. 1.

§ Decret. Taſſil. c. 2. § 12.

|| Anno 766.

¶ Aimoin. L. 4. c. 67.

** Anno 766.

From this time theſe aſſemblies have had different names given them by different authors, who have called them ‘ Campi Magii,’ or Madii. Some have written that the town of Maienfeld, in the dioceſe of Coire, in the canton of the Griſons, was thus called from the aſſemblies that were held there in the month of May, for Maienfeld ſignifies ‘ Champ de May.’ It was not warlike affairs alone that were then diſcuſſed, but in general every thing that related to the public weal. Fredegaire ſays*, ‘ Omnes optimates Francorum ad Dura in Pago Riguerinſe ad campo Madio pro ſalute patriæ et utilitate Francorum tractanda, placito inſtituto, ad ſe venire præcepit.’ This is likewiſe touched upon by the monk Aigrad, in the life of Saint Anſbert, archbiſhop of Rouen.

The kings at theſe aſſemblies received preſents from their ſubjects, which circumſtance is particularly noticed in the ſame paſſage from which I have quoted above, in Fredegaire; and by every author who has treated on the great authority of the mayors of the palace, when they ſay, that they governed the realm with ſuch extenſive powers that little was left to the kings but the name, who were contented to lead an indolent domeſtic life in their palaces, and ſhewed themſelves once a year to their ſubjects, when they received preſents from them. ‘ In die autem Martis campo, ſecundum antiquam conſuetudinem, dona illis regibus a populo offerebantur.’ Theſe are the words of Hildeſheim, in his chronicle, at the year 750.

The ſame is expreſſed by Theophanes, page 337, ſpeaking of the kings of the firſt race: ἔθος γαρ ἦν αυτοῖς τον κυριον αυτῶν, ητοι τον Ρηγα, κατα γενος ἀρχειν, και μηδεν πρατ]ειν, ἢ διοικεῖν, πλην αλογως εσθιειν και πινειν, ἄικοι τε διατριβειν, και κατα Μάϊον μῆνα πρωτῃ τῆ μυνος προκαθεξεται επι ϖαντος του εθνους, και προσκυνειν αυτους και προσκυνεῖσθαι ὑϖ' αυτῶν και δωροφορεῖσθαι κατα συνητειαν, και αντιδοναι αυτοῖς και ὁυτως ἕως του ἄλλου Μαιου καθ ἑαυτον διαγειν.

The annals of France, taken from the church of Mets, more particularly mention what was done in the aſſemblies, as well in regard to the buſineſs diſcuſſed, as to the preſents that were made to the kings. It is in that part where Pepin the elder, mayor of the palace, is ſpoken of: ‘ ſingulis vero annis in kalendis Martii generale cum omnibus Francis, ſecundum priſcorum

* An. 761.

conſuetudinem, concilium agebat. In quo ob Regii nominis reverentiam, quem ſibi ipſe propter humilitatis et manſuetudinis magnitudinem præfecerat, præſidere jubebat: donec ab omnibus optimatibus Francorum donariis acceptis, verboque pro pace et defenſione eccleſiarum Dei et pupillorum, et viduarum facto, raptuque fœminarum et incendio ſolito decreto interdicto, exercitui quoque præcepto dato, ut quacumque die illis denuntiaretur, parati eſſent in partem, quam ipſe diſponeret, proficiſci.'

We learn from the above paſſage the reaſon why Pepin the ſon of Martel transferred theſe aſſemblies to the firſt of May, the ſeaſon not being in March ſufficiently advanced for his troops to take the field; ſo that another day muſt have been fixed on for the people to aſſemble under arms and march againſt the enemy, which would oblige them to aſſemble twice in the ſame year. Hincmar, archbiſhop of Rheims, ſays, that theſe preſents were made to the kings to enable them to provide for their own defence, as well as for that of the ſtate, 'Cauſa ſuæ defenſionis *.' With regard to what he calls annual gifts, it is confirmed by many paſſages in our annals, which are couched in the ſame terms.

I have extracted from the annals of the abbey of St Bertin, an. 826. as follows: 'Ibique habito generali conventu, et oblata ſibi *annua dona* ſolemni more ſuſcepit, et legationes plurimas, quæ tam de Roma et Benevento, quam et de aliis longinquis terris ad eum venerant, audivit atque abſolvit.'

This likewiſe ſhews, that theſe occaſions were reſerved for the reception of ambaſſadors, that they might witneſs the magnificence and ſplendour of theſe royal aſſemblies.

Theſe gifts and preſents were often called 'annualia dona, or 'annua,' becauſe they were annually made; and from this ceremony taking place at the commencement of the year, authors † have ſometimes given them the name of New-years-gifts, our kings having followed the example of the ancient roman kings, who invented the name and cuſtom. A poet of the middle ages writes:

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* Hincmar. in Quater. p. 405. apud Cellot.

† Lup. Ferrar. ep. 32. Hincmar. Quatern.

‘ Strenæ præterea nitent.
Plures aureolæ munere regio,
Olim principibus probis
Jani principiis auſpicio datæ,
Fauſto temporis omine:
Ut ferret ducibus ſtrenua ſtrenuis
Annus geſta recentior.
Illas nobilitas Cæſaribus piis,
Rex dignis procerum dabat,
Urbis quas latiæ, tum juveni dedit
Rex Titus Tatius prior,
Feſtas accipiens, paupere munere,
Verbenas, ſtudio patrum
Solers poſteritas quas creat aureas.
Servant dona tamen
A luco veteri nomine ſtrenuæ *.’

I obſerve that theſe preſents are called ‘ Xenia’ by Flodoardus, in the hiſtory of the church of Rheims, which ſhews that the cuſtom was followed in France under Clovis and our firſt kings; and I believe, for the ſame reaſon, the tribute which the Dalmatians paid to the kings of Hungary, and to the republic of Venice, when ſubjects to them, were called ‘ Strinæ,’ or ‘ Strinnæ,’ from the latin word ‘ Strena,’ being voluntary gifts paid through gratitude. And this ſeems to have been intimated in a charter of Sebaſtiano Ziani, doge of Venice, in the year 1174, to the inhabitants of Trau: ‘ Nolumus ut aliquo modo offendantur, neque tollatur eis aliqua inconſueta ſtrinna, niſi quam ipſi ſponte dare voluerint †.’

This is conformable to what Conſtantine Porphyrogenetes writes ‡, that his uncle, the emperor Baſil, perſuaded the Dalmatians to pay the Sclavonians a ſimilar ſum of money, to purchaſe peace from them, as they

* Metellus in Quirinal. To. 1. Caniſii, pp. 44, 45.

† Statuta Raguſii, l. 7. c. 56.

‡ Conſt. Porph. de Adm. Imp. ch. 29.

were accuſtomed to give their governors, and to pay thoſe governors ſome trifling ſum, as a mark of dependance, and of their ſubmiſſion to the empire.

I have no doubt but that it was after the example of our kings that private lords have borrowed this expreſſion of gifts, for the taxes they raiſed on their vaſſals, having, from time immemorial, ſought for gentle and plauſible terms to cover their unjuſt exactions. A deed of William the baſtard, in the firſt vol. of the Monaſticon Anglicanum, page 351, has as follows: 'Ut liber ſit ab omni conſuetudine, Geldo, Scoto, et auxilio, et dono, et Danegeldo.' In the cartulary of the church of Amiens is, 'In omni territorio Nigellæ habent canonici tres partes terragii, et medietatem doni, et in terra Vavaſſorum medietatem terragii, et medietatem doni *.' Mention is ſo frequently made in this cartulary of the word 'Don,' that the name has continued down to our own times, to ſignify the tax impoſed on all merchandiſe that is brought into the town of Amiens by water. This proves that theſe dons, at firſt gratuitous, became in time forced, and ended by being the ordinary taxes.

The preſents made to the kings were not always in money, but in kind, and often in horſes. This we gather from ſome additions that were made to the ſalique law, which order that ſuch horſes muſt be marked with the names of the givers: 'Et hoc nobis præcipiendum eſt, ut quicumque in *dono regio* caballos detulerint, in unum quemque ſuum nomen habeant ſcriptum,' in order to know who had complied with this duty of gratitude, and who had not. Theſe preſents were called royal, as we learn from an epiſtle of Frothaire, biſhop of Toul, which alſo confirms what I have ſaid, that theſe gifts frequently conſiſted of horſes: 'Nam ad horum itinerum incommoda, quæ vel nunc egimus, vel acturi ſumus, ſeu ad *dona regalia*, quæ ad Palatium dirigimus, pene quidquid ex optimis equis habuimus, diſtribuere compulſi ſumus.'

Our annals ſay, that king Pepin, having defeated the Saxons, obliged them to preſent to him every year, at the holding of theſe general aſſemblies,

* Tabul. Eccl. Amb. fol. 2. 19, 20. 27.

three hundred horſes: ‘ Et tunc demum polliciti ſunt regis Pipini voluntatem facere, et honores, ſive *dona*, in ſuo placito præſentandos, id eſt, per annos ſingulos equos trecentos.’

The word ‘ honores’ deſerves a moment’s conſideration; for it apprizes us, that the gifts made on theſe occaſions were preſents of honour and gratitude, as the annals of Eginhard, in the year 758, declare in theſe words: ‘ Et ſingulis annis honoris cauſa ad generalem conventum equos trecentos pro munere daturos.’ Theſe horſes, given to kings as a ſort of tribute or annual duty, are called in the theodoſian code, ‘ Equi Canonici.’

Monaſteries were not exempted from this tribute; for as it was paid ſolely to relieve the neceſſities of government, and to ſupport the expenſes which kings were obliged to incur for the preſervation of their ſubjects’ lives and fortunes, eccleſiaſtics were in the ſame manner bounden to pay it for their domains, which the greater part held under the liberality of their princes. This made Hincmar ſay, ‘ Per jura regum eccleſia poſſidet poſſeſſiones.’ The ſame writer continues on this ſubject, ‘ Cauſa ſuæ defenſionis, regi ac reipublicæ vectigalia quæ nobis *annua dona* vocantur, præſtat eccleſia ſervans quod jubet Apoſtolus, cui honorem, honorem, cui vectigal vectigal, ſubauditur præſtare regi ac defenſoribus veſtris,’ &c.

The epiſtles of Frothaire biſhop of Toul, and de Loup abbot of Ferrieres, which I have before quoted, confirm the above.

Of theſe monaſteries, ſome were bounden not only to make the preſents before mentioned, but alſo to furniſh ſoldiers: others offered only theſe gifts. There were alſo ſome who did neither, but were ſolely obliged to pray for the health of the princes, and of the royal family, and for the welfare of public affairs.

There exiſts a deed of the emperor Louis le debonnaire, which enumerates the monaſteries in his realms, ‘ quæ dona et militiam facere debent, quæ ſola dona ſine militia, et quæ nec dona nec militiam, ſed ſolas orationes pro ſalute imperatoris vel filiorum ejus, ac ſtabilitate imperii *.’ I believe that from

* To. 2. Hiſt. Franc. p. 323.

that period, the origin of the pecuniary aſſiſtance our kings have from time to time drawn from the clergy of France may be dated, particularly ſince military ſervice from fiefs have been aboliſhed; for during their exiſtence, and when all vaſſals were bound perſonally to attend kings or lords in their wars, eccleſiaſtics were obliged to ſerve in perſon from the tenure of the lands, their lordſhips or fiefs; not indeed by bearing arms themſelves, like the ſeculars, but by conducting their vaſſals to the armies, and afterward offering up their prayers for the proſperity of the arms of their lord.

It was the duty of the 'camerier,' that is to ſay, the keeper of the king's treaſure, to receive theſe preſents, but under the directions of the queen, to whom this office belonged as her right. Hincmar, deſcribing the arrangements in the palaces of our kings, ſays, 'De honeſtate vero Palatii, ſeu ſpecialiter ornamento regali, nec non et de *donis annuis* militum, abſque cibo et potu, vel equis, ad reginam præcipue, et ſub ipſa ad Camerarium pertinebat *.'

He then adds, that it was likewiſe the duty of the camerier to receive the preſents from foreign ambaſſadors, that is to ſay, he was to have them under his care, as forming part of the royal treaſury. Theſe gifts, made by the ſubjects, were preſented, in the firſt inſtance, to the king himſelf, who received them from the givers, while his miniſters, or principal counſellors, were regulating public affairs. 'Interim vero, quo hæc in regis abſentia agebantur, ipſe princeps reliquæ multitudini in ſuſcipiendis muneribus, ſalutandis proceribus, ——— occupatus erat.'

Theſe general aſſemblies were, at their commencement, held on the firſt day of March annually, but, as I have noticed, were afterward adjourned to the firſt of May. Under the ſecond race of our princes, as their realms, and conſequently their labours, were conſiderably increaſed, they were obliged to multiply theſe aſſemblies, to attend to the affairs of government, and to regulate the diſputes which from time to time aroſe among their people; ſo that they held two aſſemblies, one at the beginning of the year, and another towards the end, about the months of Auguſt or September.

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* Hincmar. de Ord. Palat. n. 22. opuſc. 14.

Hincmar ſays, ‘ Conſuetudo autem tunc temporis erat, ut non ſæpius, ſed bis in anno, placita duo tenerentur.’

In order that the public might be aſſured for certain on what days theſe aſſemblies were to be holden, they gave notice, at the concluſion of the firſt aſſembly, when the enſuing one was to be held. In the annals of France, in the years 832 and 835, you will find, ‘ Ubi etiam denuo annunciatum eſt placitum generale kalendas Septembris Aurelianis habendum.’ And in another place, ‘ Ad placitum ſuum generale, quod in Strimniaco prope Lugdunum civitatem ſe habiturum indixerat, profectus eſt.’

Hincmar ſays, that the firſt aſſembly was much more ſolemn than the ſecond, becauſe in that the whole of the public buſineſs for the year was arranged; and it was not common for any thing that had been then ſettled to be repealed, without the utmoſt neceſſity. ‘ Ordinabatur ſtatus totius regni ad anni vertentis ſpatium: quod ordinatum nullus eventus rerum, niſi ſumma neceſſitas, quæ ſimiliter toti regno incumbebat, mutabatur.’ And as affairs of the greateſt importance were there treated of, all the ſtates of the kingdom were obliged to attend. ‘ In quo placito generalitas univerſorum majorum, tam clericorum quam laicorum, conveniebat.’

With regard to the ſecond aſſembly, held at the end of the year, it was only attended by the principal barons and the king's counſellors, where all projects for the enſuing year were firſt deliberated upon; and it was at this ſecond aſſembly that the kings received the gifts from their ſubjects. ‘ Cæterum autem propter *dona* generaliter danda aliud placitum cum ſenioribus tantum, et præcipuis conſiliaris habebatur. In quo jam futuri anni ſtatus tractari incipiebatur, ſi forte talia aliqua ſe præmonſtrabant, pro quibus neceſſe erat præmeditando ordinare.’

What is above ſaid reſpecting the time for making theſe gifts is confirmed by our authors, who inform us that it was deferred to the ſecond aſſembly, in order that the roads and ſeaſon for travelling might be more convenient, for the ſubjects came from the moſt diſtant parts of the realm to offer preſents. In the annals of the abbey of Fulda, of the year 870, is as follows: ‘ Raſtizen gravi catena ligatum ſibi præſentari juſſit, eumque Francorum judicio, et Bajoariorum, nec non et Sclavorum, qui de diverſis

regni provinciis regi munera deferentes aderant, morte damnatum, luminibus tantum oculorum privari præcepit.'

This paſſage ſhews, that in theſe general aſſemblies of our anceſtors, not only the affairs of ſtate and of war were determined upon, but that the diſputes between princes and lords of the court were decided; inſomuch, that when any duke, count, or governor, was accuſed of treaſon or conſpiracy againſt the king, or of cowardice, he was ſummoned to appear at theſe aſſemblies, and forced to anſwer the charges brought againſt him. If he was found guilty, he was condemned by the ſentence of the ſovereign prince, aſſiſted by his great barons. This gave riſe, in proceſs of time, to the court of peers, in which the barons, and other great lords, who held immediatly under the king, were judged, by their equals and peers. There are in our annals an infinite number of ſentences paſſed in the general aſſemblies for crimes againſt the ſtate: they were for this reaſon called 'Placita,' becauſe affairs of conſequence were there decided; and to diſtinguiſh them from common courts of juſtice, they are often named by writers 'Placita magna et generalia.'

I ſhall have elſewhere occaſion to ſpeak of the origin of this word 'Placitum,' which is ſynonimous to that of 'Mallum,' as I have before remarked. Theſe general aſſemblies began to fall into diſuſe toward the end of the ſecond race, when all France was plunged into inteſtine diviſions. During the third race, other aſſemblies were formed under the names of Parliaments, or States-general, where public buſineſs was arranged, and where it was reſolved what aids the different orders of people ſhould give to the king for his wars or his neceſſities.

The ancient Engliſh ſeem to have borrowed from us the uſage of theſe aſſemblies, and theſe 'Champs de May;' for we read in the laws of Edward the confeſſor, that the people were obliged to aſſemble yearly, 'in Capite Kalendarum Maii,' when they renewed their oaths of obedience to the prince, and for the defence of the ſtate. It is to this cuſtom we muſt refer what Simeon of Durham and other engliſh writers ſay, in the year 1194. 'Denuo in Campo Martii convenere, ubi illi qui ſacramentis inter illos pacem confirmavere, regi omnem culpam impoſuere.'

This ſhews, that although theſe aſſemblies were held in the month of May, they nevertheleſs preſerved the name of Champ de Mars, and that they were continued during the reigns of the firſt norman kings. Preſents were there made in like manner as to our kings. Odericus Vitalis, ſpeaking of William the conqueror, ſays, ‘ Ipſi vero regi, ut fertur, mille et ſexaginta libræ ſterilenſis monetæ, ſolidique triginta, et tres oboli ex juſtis redditibus Angliæ per ſingulos dies redduntur: exceptis *muneribus regiis*, et reatuum redemptionibus, aliiſque multiplicibus negotiis, quæ regis ærarium quotidie adaugent.’

Perhaps, by the term of Royal Preſents, the author underſtands duties in kind, which the ſubject was bound to pay daily for the ſupport of the prince’s houſehold; for ‘ in primitivo regni ſtatu poſt conquiſitionem regibus de fundis ſuis non auri vel argenti pondera, ſed ſola victualia ſolvebantur,’ as Gervais of Tilbury writes, page 216.

It is well known, that theſe gifts made by ſubjects to their prince were cuſtomary at the time of William the baſtard; for we read, that in the kingdom of Sicily when the norman race of kings ruled it, the people made them gifts on the firſt of January. Whence Falcandus remarks, that the admiral Majon having been killed under pretext that he wiſhed to ſeize the kingdom, in evidence of which it was alledged, that ſeveral crowns of gold had been found in his houſe, his friends exculpated him by ſaying that he had only ordered them to be made, to offer them as preſents to the king on the day when ſuch gifts were uſually made to him: ‘ Falſum enim quidquid ipſe cædiſque factæ ſocii adverſus admiratum confixerant; nec illum inventa in theſauris ejus diademata ſibi præparaſſe, ſed regi, ut eodem in kalendis Januarii Strenarum nomine, juxta conſuetudinem ei tranſmitteret *.’

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* Hugo Falcandus de Sicil. Calam. p. 657.

DISSERTATION V.

ON THE COURTS AND SOLEMN FESTIVALS OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE.

BESIDES theſe general aſſemblies, which the french kings called together in March or May on public affairs, there were likewiſe other aſſemblies on the principal feſtivals in the calendar, where they ſhewed themſelves to their own ſubjects, and to ſtrangers, with a pomp worthy of royal magnificence. This was alſo practiſed from the beginning of the Chriſtian monarchy; for we read in the fifth book of the hiſtory of France, by Gregory of Tours, chapter ſecond, that Chilperic, on his arrival at Tours, celebrated with pomp the feaſt of Eaſter: 'Chilpericus Toronis venit, ibique et dies ſanctos Paſchæ tenuit.' Eginhard, in his annals for the year 759, ſays that Pepin obſerved the like ceremonies at the feſtivals of Eaſter and Chriſtmas during the courſe of his reign, and that they were continued by his ſucceſſors. The ſame author writes, that Charlemagne was accuſtomed to appear on theſe grand feſtivals, clothed in cloth of gold, with buſkins embroidered with pearls, and other royal magnificence, with the crown on his head: 'In feſtivitatibus veſte auro texta, et calciamentis gemmatis, et fibula aurea ſagum aſtringente, diademate quoque ex auro, et gemmis ornatus incedebat.'

Thegan makes the ſame remark on Louis le debonnaire: 'Nunquam aureo reſplenduit indumento, niſi tantum in ſummis feſtivitatibus, ſicut patres ejus ſolebant agere. Nihil illis diebus ſe induit præter camiſiam, et

feminalia niſi cum auro texta, Lembo aureo, baltheo præcinctus, et enſe auro fulgente, ocreas aureas, et clamydem auro textam, et coronam auream, auro fulgentem in capite geſtans, et baculum auream in manu tenens *.'

I imagine theſe two french emperors wiſhed in this to imitate the greek emperors of Conſtantinople, who were accuſtomed to attend the churches on all the principal feſtivals of the year, dreſſed in their imperial robes, with the crown on their heads, as Theophanes informs us in his life of Juſtinian the great. It is certain, however, that Charles le chauve, ſon to Louis le debonnaire, affected particularly to copy them; for the annals of Fulda relate, 'Karolus rex de Italia in Galliam rediens, novos et inſolitos habitus aſſumpſiſſe perhibetur. Nam talari Dalmatica indutus, et Baltheo deſuper accinctus pendente uſque ad pedes, nec non capite involuto ſerico velamine, ac diademate deſuper impoſito, Dominicis et feſtis diebus ad eccleſiam procedere ſolebat. Omnem enim conſuetudinem regum Francorum contemnens, Græcas glorias optimas arbitrabatur.'

Theſe terms, however, concern the form of the clothing, and that of the crown; for with reſpect to the dreſs of the French in theſe ages, the monk of St Gal deſcribes it, and ſhews that it was very different from that of the Greeks. Our princes at that period wore over their dreſs and girdle a blue or white mantle of a ſquare cut, ſhort at the ſides, but long before and behind: 'Ultimum habitus eorum erat pallium canum, vel ſaphirinum quadrangulum, duplex, ſic formatum, ut cum imponeretur humeris, ante et retro, pedes tangeret, de lateribus vero vix genua contegeret.'

Tertullian ſpeaks of theſe ſquare mantles †, which the Greeks called τετραγωνα. It is thus that Charlemagne is repreſented in a moſaic, in the church dedicated to Santa Suſanna at Rome, where he is on his knees before St Peter, who puts into his hands a blue ſtandard, beſprinkled with red roſes, and this inſcription above it, '†. D. N. CARULO REX:' on the other ſide is pope Leon with theſe words, '†. SCISSIMUS D. N. LEO PP.' Over the head of St Peter is, 'SCS. PETRUS,' and under his feet is this fragment

* Thegan. c. 19 Annal. Met. anno 837.

† Tertull. de Pallio. et ibi Salmaſius, p. 56.

of an inſcription, ‘ . . . DONAS . . . BICTO . . . IA.’ This form of a mantle has ever ſince been preſerved and uſed in France.

Manuel Comnenes, emperor of Conſtantinople, being at Antioch, and deſirous of ſhewing to the French that he was not leſs adroit than themſelves in the management of the lance at tournaments, made his appearance dreſſed in the french faſhion, and clothed in a mantle which was open on the right ſide, and faſtened with a claſp, that he might have the free uſe of his right arm to fight with: χλαμυδα ησθημενος αστειοτεραν περι τον δεξιον ὦμον περονουμενην, και αφιεῖσαν ελευθεραν την χεῖρα κατα το πορπημα *. This is the ſort of mantle ſpoken of in the laſt will of St Everard, duke of Friulia, ‘ Mantellum unum de auro paratum, cum fibula aurea.’

In an account of Stephen de la Fontaine, maſter of the robes to the king, for the year 1351, he thus deſcribes the mantles of our kings, of our princes of the blood, and of the knights: ‘ pour xx aulnes et demie de fin velluiau vermeil de fors, pour faire une garnache, un long mantel fendu à un coſté, et chaperon de meiſmes tout fourré d’Ermines pour le Roy à la derniere fête de l’Eſtoille, &c. Pour fourrer un ſurcot, un mantel long fendu à un coſté, et chaperon de meiſmes, que le roy ot d’une eſcarlate vermeille, pour cauſe de la dite fête.’ In another part of the ſame account, ‘ pour le duc d’Orliens, pour fourrer un grand ſurcot, un mantel fendu à un coſté, et chaperon de meiſmes, que le dit ſeigneur ot d’une eſcarlate vermeille.’

This mantle repreſented the Paludamentum of the Romans, and now conſtitutes part of the royal habiliments of our princes, which the Preſidents à Mortier in the parliaments have imitated in their robes. I make this obſervation by the way in regard to the mantles of the ancient French, becauſe the lord de Joinville writes, that the king of Navarre appeared ‘ en cotte et en mantel,’ at the ſolemn court the king St Louis held at Saumur in the year 1242.

It is certain, that not only the kings of the ſecond race celebrated theſe ſolemnities with much pomp, but the third race followed their example.

Helgaud † mentions the ſolemn courts which king Robert held in his palace in Paris on the feaſts of Eaſter, where he gave public feſtivals.

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* Nicet. Chon. in Man. l. 3. § 3.

† Helgald. in Rob. pp. 66. 70.

Odericus Vitalis writes, that king Philip I. having been excommunicated on account of his marriage with Bertrade de Montfort, ceaſed from that time to wear his crown or to appear at any of theſe grand feſtivals: 'Nunquam diadema portavit, nec purpuram induit, neque ſolennitatem aliquam regio more celebravit.'

And although St Louis affected great modeſty in his dreſs, he nevertheleſs obſerved on theſe occaſions that decorum requiſite to ſupport the royal dignity; as he alſo did in the court and open table he kept at Saumur, where, according to the recital of the lord de Joinville, he was moſt ſuperbly dreſſed, and where he ſaw a greater number of dreſſes of cloth of gold than he had ever before witneſſed. He does not particulariſe that he wore the crown on his head: it is, however, to be preſumed that he did, ſince the king of Navarre was preſent, 'moult paré, et aourné, de drap d'or, en cotte et mantel, la çainture, fermail, et chappel d'or fin.' Nangis confirms this magnificence of St Louis in the following words: 'In ſolemnitatibus regiis, et tam in quotidianis ſumptibus domus ſuæ, quam in parlamentis et congregationibus militum et baronum, ſicut decebat regiam dignitatem, liberaliter, ac largiter ſe habebat,' &c. This he ſeems to have taken from our author, who ſpecifies, that when the great lords and knights attended his councils or the aſſemblies of the ſtates, he entertained them at court more ſplendidly and ſumptuouſly than ever any of his predeceſſors had done.

But what proves that on theſe occaſions our kings wore their crowns is the laſt will of Philippes de Valois, which he made at the caſtle of Vincennes the 2d July 1350, by which he bequeaths to his queen, Blanche of Navarre, all his jewels, 'exceptée tant ſeulement noſtre couronne royale, de laquelle nous avons uſé, ou accouſtumé à uſer en grands feſtes, ou en ſolennitez, et de laquelle nous uſâmes, et la portâmes à chevalerie de Jean noſtre ainſné fils.' Theſe are the words of the teſtament. And it was from the king's wearing their crowns on ſuch ſolemn feaſts, that theſe grand feſtivals were called 'Curiæ coronatæ,' in a title-deed of the commonalty granted to the town of Laon by king Louis le jeune, in the year 1138, as follows:

'Pro his igitur, et aliis beneficiis quæ prædictis civibus regali benignitate contulimus, ipſius pacis homines hanc nobis conventionem habuerunt, quod excepta *curia coronata*, ſive expeditione, vel equitatu, tribus vicibus in anno

ſingulas procurationes, ſi in civitatem venerimus, pro eis xx^m. libr. nobis perſolvent.'

The courts of princes are always filled with courtiers, whence it may be inferred that kings are ſurrounded by great numbers of perſons, which gives occaſion to Guntherus to ſay *,

' Non eſt magnorum cum paucis vivere regum.
Quotlibet emittat, plures tamen aula reſervat.
Nec princeps latebras, nec ſol deſiderat umbras;
Abſcondat ſolem, qui vult abſcondere regem.
Sive novi veniant, ſeu qui venere recedant,
Semper inexhauſta celebratur Curia turba.'

Kings made choice of theſe occaſions to diſplay their magnificence in dreſs, and in the numbers of barons and prelates that came from all quarters to attend their court, in the ſplendid dreſſes of the officers of their houſeholds, by the ſumptuous feaſts, their gifts and liberalities: in ſhort, by ſtriking ceremonies, ſuch as the creation of knights, which was reſerved for theſe days. It was not, therefore, without reaſon that different authors have called them, ' Cours plenieres, ſolennelles, publiques, generales, ouvertes.' The two following verſes are taken from the chronicle of Bertrand du Gueſclin:

' Et toute ſa vaiſſelle faſſe amener droit la,
Pour ce que Cour plainiere ce dit tenir voudra.'

They ſelected for this purpoſe one of their palaces, or ſome large town capable of lodging their whole attendants, as the annals of Eginhard, and other authors mention. Among them is the ſame Guntherus, who, ſpeaking of the emperor Frederick I. ſays,

' Inſtabat veneranda dies, qua Chriſtus in una
Æqualis Deitate Patri, ſine temporis ortu,
Natus ab æterno, ſub tempore, temporis auctor
Cœlitus infuſa voluit de virgine naſci, &c.
Hunc celebrare diem digno meditatus honore
Cæſar, ubi illuſtrem legeret ſibi Curia ſedem,

* Gunther. l. 4. Ligur. p. 97.

Quæ poſſet pleno tot millia paſſere cornu,
Wormatium petiit,' &c.

I obſerve that it ſeldom happened that any other feaſts but thoſe of Chriſtmas and Eaſter were celebrated by theſe grand aſſemblies under the reign of the ſecond race of our kings: during that of the third, others were added. In a charter from king Robert to the monaſtery of St Denis, which exempts theſe monks from attending thoſe ſolemn courts, he likewiſe includes the feaſts of Twelfth-day and Whitſuntide. Another of king Louis le gros, of the year 1133, is thus ſubſcribed: 'Actum Sueſſioni Generali Curia Pentecoſtes coram Archiepiſcopis et Epiſcopis, et coram optimatibus regni noſtri.'

Ives biſhop of Chartres, in one of his epiſtles, ſpeaks of the court, 'quæ Aurelianis in Natali Domini congreganda erat,' and where he mentions that public buſineſs was diſcuſſed.

But that the princes of the blood, the whole royal family, the great officers of the crown, and thoſe of the king's houſehold, might appear with ſplendour, the kings gave to each, according to his rank, dreſſes ſuited to the ſeaſons in which theſe grand courts were held. Theſe dreſſes were called 'livrées,' becauſe they were delivered and given from the money in the king's coffers, and in the latin writers were named, 'liberatæ,' and 'liberationes,' and frequently 'les nouvelles robes.'

Matthew Paris writes, in the year 1243, 'Appropinquante vero et imminente præclaræ Dominicæ Nativitatis feſtivitate, qua mutatoria recentia, quæ vulgariter novas robas appellamus, Magnates ſuis domeſticis diſtribuere, conſueverunt,' &c. He ſpeaks in many other places of the Chriſtmas robes. Hence it happens, that whoever wears the livery or robes of any one is ſuppoſed to belong to his houſehold.

In the laws of the barons of Scotland, 'dummodo non ſit perſona ſuſpecta, utpote ſi fuerit tenens ſuus, vel de familia ſua, vel portans robas ſuas,' &c. * To this day we call Liveries the dreſſes of ſervants, which are all commonly uniform, in like manner as Corippus deſcribes thoſe of the attendants of Juſtin †:

* Quoniam attach. c. 13. § 2.

† Coripp. l. 4. de Laud. Juſtini, p. 57.

‘ ——— ætas quibus omnibus una,
Par habitus, par forma fuit, veſtiſque rubebat
Concolor, atque auro lucebant cingula mundo.’

The monk of St Gal ſays, that the emperor Louis le debonnaire made preſents to his domeſtics, and gave to each dreſſes ſuitable to their ranks: ‘ Cunctis in palatio miniſtrantibus, et in curia regia ſervientibus, juxta ſingulorum perſonas donativa largitus eſt: ita ut nobilioribus quibuſcumque aut baltheos, aut flaſcilones, precioſiſſimaque veſtimenta a latiſſimo imperio perlata, diſtribui juberet; inferioribus vero ſaga Freſonica omnimodo coloris darentur.’

The accounts of Stephen de la Fontaine for the year 1351 mention the liveries that were given to the king’s houſehold on the feaſts of Chriſtmas, Candlemas, Whitſuntide, that of our Lady in the middle of Auguſt, and of All-ſaints; and they inform us ſuch were likewiſe given to the queen’s, the princes of the blood, to the officers of the crown, to the knights of the houſehold, who are vulgarly called, ‘ les chevaliers du roy,’ and in general to all the officers of the king’s houſehold, as well as to ſuch as were, on theſe ſolemn feſtivals, created knights by the king. Theſe liveries were alſo named ‘ mantles,’ in Latin ‘ pallia,’ becauſe to ſome were given mantles, and to others robes.

In an account of the treaſury for the year 1300, is, ‘ Pallia militum de termino Pentecoſt. &c. Pallia Clericorum, &c. Robæ Valletorum et aliorum hoſpitii,’ &c. And in an ordinance of Charles V. in the year 1364, reſpecting the parliament, ‘ Wadia et Pallia.’ Another of Charles VII. reſpecting the officers of the parliament, in the year 1439, enacts, that the preſidents, counſellors, clerks and notaries of the parliament, ſhall be paid their wages, and for their mantles by debentures. This right to mantles belonged equally to the maſters of requeſts, the maſters of accounts, and to the treaſurers of France, as may be collected from the peruſal of the ancient ordinances. This was not peculiar to the French, for we read in the theodoſian code, that this uſage was practiſed by the emperors of the eaſt, who gave dreſſes to their officers of the palace: ‘ Olim ſtatuimus, ut ultra definitas dignitates nullus nec annonas, nec ſtrenas perciperet. Sed quia pleroſque de diverſis palatinis officiis ſub occaſione indepti honoris ſtrenas et

veſtes, cæteraque ſolemnia ultra ſtatutum numerum percepiſſe cognovimus, et id ex quod ſuperfluo præbitum eſt exigi facias, et deinceps ultra ſtatutas dignitates nihil præberi permittas.' Theſe gifts made to the officers were afterwards called 'Rogæ.'

Helgaud, the lord de Joinville, and other authors remark, that at theſe ſolemn feaſts there were public feſtivals, when the kings eat in preſence of their court, and were waited on by the great officers of the crown and of the houſehold, each according to the duties of his place. There were alſo added the amuſements of minſtrels, under which name were comprehended thoſe who played on 'naquaires, du demy canon, du cornet, de la guiterne latine, de la fluſte behaigne, de la trompette, de la guiterne moreſche, et de la vieille,' which are named in a houſehold-account of the duke of Normandy and Guienne for the year 1348. There were likewiſe drolls and jugglers ('joculatores') and merry Andrews, who diverted the company by their witticiſms and farces. The expenſe of kings and princes, and of ſimple gentlemen, in their houſeholds, was ſo prodigious that it gave occaſion to Lambert of Ardres, and to the cardinal Jacques de Vitry, to laviſh invectives on the ſuperfluous extravagance of their times, which was carried ſo far as frequently to ruin whole families. St Auſtin had before reprobated them, in the following words: 'Donare res ſuas hiſtrionibus, vitium eſt immane, non virtus. Illa ſanies Romæ recepta, et favoribus aucta, tandem collabefecit bonos mores, et civitates perdidit, coegitque imperatores ſæpius eos expellere.'

The annals of France prove, that minſtrels and farcers attended theſe ſolemn courts, when they mention Louis le debonnaire: 'Nunquam in riſu exaltavit vocem ſuam, nec quando in ſummis feſtivitatibus ad lætitiam procedebant Thymelici, ſcurræ et mimi, cum Coraulis et Cithariſtis ad menſam coram eo,' &c. They are called 'miniſtrels,' or 'miniſtrelli, quaſi parvi miniſtri;' that is to ſay, petty officers of the king's houſehold.

But the magnificence of princes, on theſe occaſions, was ſhewn in a particular manner by their generoſity towards their principal officers, giving them divers rich jewels, more eſpecially ſuch as they wore on their dreſs for thoſe days. Matthew Paris ſays, in the year 1251, 'Eodem celeberrimo

feſto (Natalis Dominici) licet omnes prædeceſſores ſui indumenta regalia, et jocalia pretioſa conſueviſſent ab antiquo diſtribuere, ipſe tamen rex —— nulla penitus militibus diſtribuit, vel familiaribus.'

Like the ancient emperors of Rome and Conſtantinople, who, when they took poſſeſſion of their dignities, ſcattered among the crowds aſſembled on the occaſion a quantity of coined gold and ſilver, which the latin writers name 'Miſſilia,' and the greek ὑπάτια; ſo our kings had 'Largeſſe,' cried by their heralds at arms during the feaſt, each holding in his hands large 'hanaps,' or great cups filled with all ſorts of coin, which they flung among the people. The accounts of William Charrier, receiver-general of the finances, which begin at the year 1422, and are in the chamber of accounts in Paris, confirm the above in theſe words: 'A Touraine et Pontoiſe, heraux du roy, la ſomme de 41 livres, 6 ſols, en 30 eſcus d'or donnée par le dit ſeigneur au mois de May 1448, tant pour eux, que pour autres heraux, pourſuivans, meneſtrels et trompettes, pour avoir le jour de la Pentecoſte au dit an, crié *Largeſſe* devant ſa perſonne, ainſi qu' il eſt accouſtumé.' In the fourth account of Matthew Beauvarlet, receiver-general of the finances of Languedoc, beginning at the firſt of October 1452, 'A Pontoiſe, Berry et Guyenne, heraux du roy, pour avoir crié Largeſſe au diſner du dit ſeigneur le jour et feſte de Touſſaints, ainſi qu' il eſt accouſtumé de faire.'

The form and manner of proclaiming theſe largeſſes is thus deſcribed by a herald, who lived during the reign of Henry VI. king of England, in a manuſcript treatiſe on the duty and office of heralds and purſuivants at arms: 'Après heraulx et pourſuivans doivent cognoiſtre quand ils ſont devers les princes et grands ſeigneurs, comme ils doivent crier leur largeſſe, leſquelles ſe crient aux grans feſtes; et ſe doit la largeſſe crier quand ils ſont à diſner, quand le ſecond cours et entremets ſont ſervis. Et doit le grand maiſtre d'hoſtel en une aumuche ou ſachet honnorable appeller le roy d'armes, mareſchal, ou herauld, ou pourſuivant le plus notable en l'abſence du herauld, et lui dire, vecy que monſeigneur ou le prince vous preſente. Et devant ſa table doit crier Largeſſe, largeſſe, largeſſe, et prendre de quel eſtat il eſt, et ſelon les ſalutations cy-deſſus eſcrites, ſelon l'eſtat de quoy eſt celui qui fait la feſte en la maniere de la ſalutation qui luy eſt deuë, doit nommer aprés, largeſſe

de trés, &c. avec les titres de la ſeigneurie dont les heraux au devant doivent eſtre informez, et par prenant garde en cette maniere, apaine peuvent faillir. Et aprés quant il a crié, tous heraux et pourſuivans doivent crier aprés lui, Largeſſe, ſans dire autre choſe, et en pluſieurs lieux, au long de la ſalle, ou palais doit eſtre fait en telle maniere que chaſcun l'oe, &c.

' Et pour mieux faire entendre cris de Largeſſe, en ſera mis deux cy-aprés, l'un pour l'empereur l'autre pour le roy, &c. Largeſſe de Ferry le trés-haut des haults de tous princes, empereur Auguſte, roy des Romains, et duc en Autriche, Largeſſe, largeſſe, largeſſe. Et au premier ſe doit crier trois fois, et en la fin tous les herauds le doivent crier et pourſuivre tous enſemble ſeulement Largeſſe, &c.

' Largeſſe, largeſſe, largeſſe de Henry par la grace de Dieu très-haut, et très Chretien, et très puiſſant roy Franc des François et Anglois, ſeigneur d'Irlande, Largeſſe, largeſſe, largeſſe.'

Thomas Mills writes, that in England the proclamations of Largeſs are to this day made in French, which is likewiſe confirmed in the Ceremonial of France, tom. 2. p. 742. when it ſpeaks of the interview of Henry VIII. and Francis I. between Guines and Ardres, in the year 1520.

The uſage of thoſe royal feſtivals, for it is thus Matthew Paris calls them *(regalia feſta)*, was introduced into England by William the baſtard, after he had conquered that kingdom.

Ordericus Vitalis ſays, ' Inter bella Gulielmus ex civitate Guenta jubet afferri Coronam, aliaque ornamenta regalia et vaſa, et dimiſſo exercitu in caſtris, Eboracum venit, ibique Natale Salvatoris noſtri concelebrat.'

William of Malmeſbury writes to the ſame effect in theſe words: ' Convivia in præcipuis feſtivitatibus ſumptuoſa et magnifica inibat. Natale Domini apud Gloceſtriam, Paſcha apud Wintoniam, Pentecoſtem apud Weſtmonaſterium agens quotannis, quibus in Anglia morari liceret: omnes eo cujuſcumque poſſeſſionis magnates regium edictum accerſebat, ut exterarum gentium legati ſpeciem multitudinis, apparatumque deliciarum mirarentur, nec ullo tempore comior, aut indulgendi facilior erat, ut qui advenerant largitatem ejus cum divitiis conquadrare ubique gentium jactitarent.' The annals of France apprize us likewiſe, in ſeveral places,

that our kings of the ſecond race choſe ſimilar occaſions for the reception of foreign ambaſſadors.

William Rufus, ſon and ſucceſſor to William the baſtard continued the uſage of the ſolemn feſtivals. King Henry I. celebrated them in like manner with great magnificence. Eadmer, who mentions this, calls theſe feſtivals 'the king's crown days,' becauſe he then wore his crown. 'In ſubſequenti feſtivitate Pentecoſtes rex Henricus Curiam ſuam Lundoniæ in magna gloria, et divite apparatu celebravit, qui tranſactis *coronæ* ſuæ feſtivioribus diebus, cæpit agere cum epiſcopis et regni principibus, quid eſſet agendum *.' He alſo informs us, that the kings had the crown placed on their heads by the archbiſhop, or in his abſence by the higheſt biſhop in rank, at the maſs which was celebrated on that day. 'In ſequenti Nativitate Domini Chriſti regnum Angliæ ad Curiam Regis Lundoniæ pró more convenit, et magna ſolemnitas habita eſt, atque ſublimis. Ipſa die archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis, ſe loco primatis Cantuarienſis regem coronaturum, et miſſam ſperans celebraturum, ad id animo paratum ſe exhibuit. Cui epiſcopus Lundonienſis non acquieſcens coronam capiti regis impoſuit, eumque per dexteram induxit eccleſiæ, et officium diei percelebravit.' Eadmer elſewhere relates, that when Henry eſpouſed Alix of Brabant his ſecond queen, Raoul archbiſhop of Canterbury (whoſe right it was to crown the kings of England) having begun maſs, and perceiving the king ſeated on his throne with the crown on his head, quitted the altar and advanced to demand from him who had put the crown on his head, which he afterward made him take off; but the barons, by their exertions compelled him to replace it.

Theſe ſolemn courts were diſcontinued in England during the reign of king Stephen, who was forced to it, from the heavy wars he had on his hands, and becauſe the wealth of the kingdom was exhauſted. William of Malmeſbury, ſpeaking of William the baſtard: 'Quem morem convivandi primus ſucceſſor obſtinate tenuit, tertius omiſit.' Other engliſh hiſtorians ſay the ſame; and Henry of Huntingdon—'Curiæ ſolemnes, et ornatus regii ſchematis ab antiqua ſerie deſcendens prorſus evanuerunt.'

* Eadmer, l. 4. Hiſt. Novor. p. 102.

But Henry II. his ſucceſſor, re-eſtabliſhed this cuſtom. Roger Hoveden remarks, that he and his queen Eleanor were publicly crowned three times, and that at the third time, when both were at the altar to make their offering, they took off their crowns, and placed them on the altar, 'voventes Deo, quod nunquam in vita ſua de cætero coronarentur;' which I ſuppoſe to mean theſe ſolemn courts.

King John, in the year 1201,—'celebravit Natale Domini apud Guildenford, ubi multa militibus ſuis feſtiva diſtribuit indumenta;' and on the Eaſter-day following, at Canterbury, 'ibidem die Paſchæ cum regina ſua coronam portavit.' Matthew of Weſtminſter, from whom the above quotations are taken, continues, that Henry III. celebrated theſe feaſts likewiſe with great pomp at Weſtminſter, in the year 1249: 'Ubi cum dapſili valde convivio, ut ſolet, dies tranſegit Natalitios, cum multitudine nobilium copioſa.' And in the year 1353, he remarks, that at a Chriſtmas-feaſt held at Wincheſter, the inhabitants of that town, 'juxta ritum tantæ ſolemnitatis fecerunt (regi) xenium nobiliſſimum;' which proves again, that kings on ſuch occaſions received preſents from their ſubjects, and alſo that the inhabitants of the towns where ſuch feſtivals were held were bounden to contribute towards part of the expenſe of them, which is particulariſed in the charter to the town of Laon before quoted.

Edward I. continued this cuſtom, for Thomas Walſingham ſays, 'Rex vero Briſtoliam veniens, ibique feſtum Dominicæ Nativitatis tenuit eo anno.' Edward II. did the ſame, according to the above writer: 'Rex iter verſus inſulam Elienſem arripuit ubi ſolemnitatem Paſchalem tenuit nobiliter, et feſtive.'

The expreſſion of 'tenir feſte,' is French, for William Guiart in the year 1202, ſpeaking of Philippes Auguſte,

'Tint li rois leans une feſte,
Où moult dépendi grant richece.'

The principal barons have alſo affected, in imitation of their ſovereigns, to hold their ſolemn courts on the great feſtivals of the year. An old author ſays, that Richard II. duke of Normandy, was accuſtomed to hold a court at the feaſt of Eaſter, in the monaſtery of Fêcamp, which had been built by his father: 'Ibi erat ſolitus fere omni tempore ſuam curiam in Paſchali

ſolemnitate tenere.' Mention is frequently made of theſe 'cours plenieres' of great lords in different title-deeds, particularly in one of Pierre count de Bigorre, which has theſe words: 'Curia namque ibi erat magna et plenaria.' But I imagine ſuch cours plenieres were aſſemblies of vaſſals of equal rank, preſided by the lord, in which the quarrels and diſputes that had ariſen among them were decided. There is in the Cartulary of Vendôme a ſentence given, 'plenaria curia vidente.' This court, therefore, was a dependance on the great fiefs, which had been granted by the ſovereign.

William the baſtard granted a ſimilar one to the church of Durham: 'Et ut curiam ſuam plenariam et Vrech in terra ſua libere, et quiete in perpetuum habeant, concedo et confirmo *.' There is another charter of king Henry III. of England for the priory of Repindon, in the county of Derby, which has ſimilar terms: 'Et curiam ſuam plenariam præterquam de furtis, et de hominibus comitis,' &c. † This proves, that theſe courts of the great lords were held for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and for the hearing of ſuch cauſes as required it.

There is in the cartulary of the abbey of Valoires, in the dioceſe of Amiens, a charter of Enguerrand viſcount de Pont de Remy, in the year 1274, by which the abbot and monks of this monaſtery acknowledge themſelves bound to lodge him and his attendants in ſuch houſes as belong to them in the town of Abbeville, on Whitſunday and the three following days, and to furniſh him with ſtables, two carts load of forage, kitchens, tables and cloths, in caſe the count de Ponthieu ſhould inſiſt on his attendance at Abbeville at the times when he may there hold his court.

This ſhews that the vaſſals, on account of their fiefs, were obliged to attend the ſolemn courts of their lords paramount. I have read another charter, conformable to this cuſtom of Renaud d'Amiens knight, lord of Vinacourt, of the year 1210, by which he acknowledges himſelf liege man to Enguerrand lord of Pinquegny, and that he owes him ſix weeks ſervice at the above place, with arms, and at his own expenſe, ſhould he have need of him in his wars. He then adds theſe words: 'Et ſi dictus vicedominus me pro feſto faciendo ſummonuerit, ego cum uxore mea per octo dies ſecum

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* Monaſt. Anglic. To. 1. p. 44.

† Ibid. To. 2. p. 281.

ad cuſtum meum debeo remanere,' &c. By another charter of the year 1280, Dreux d'Amiens, lord de Vinacourt, acknowledges that he owes eight days of reſidence in his caſtle, and eight days of feaſts to the Vidame of Amiens. Now it muſt be obſerved, that what is here called 'feſtum' is in another charter of the ſame Enguerrand of the year 1218, called 'dies haſtiludii,' and in one of Jean, Vidame of Amiens, in 1271, 'le jour du Bouhordeis,' becauſe on thoſe days there were tournaments, 'behourds,' or tiltings with lances; and in order that theſe aſſemblies might be numerous and brilliant, the lords obliged their vaſſals to attend at their own expenſe, as has been noticed, and ſent them their ſummons to this effect.

But as the matter of tournaments and behours is curious, and their origin little known, I ſhall take the opportunity of making ſome diſſertations which cannot fail to be intereſting, ſince they will deſcribe their ſource, and ſhew their uſes and abuſes.

The vaſſals were not only obliged to attend the feaſts of their lords, but were alſo bound to do various other particular ſervices, according to the terms of their infeoffments. In a charter of Humbert Dauphin of the year 1340, he grants to Aynard de Clermont the lands of Clermont en Trieves, with the title of Viſcount, on condition, that whenever the dauphin or his eldeſt ſon ſhall be created knights, the viſcount ſhall carry the ſword before them, and that at the feaſts which may follow this ceremony, and at wedding feſtivals, he ſerve on horſeback or on foot, according as the feaſt may require; in conſideration of which he ſhall receive two diſhes, and four plates of ſilver of the weight of ſixteen marcs; and ſhould the feaſt laſt more than one day, he ſhall receive for every ſucceeding day, a ſilver diſh of four or five marcs weight *.

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* M. de Boiſſieu au Traité des Droits Seign. ch. 4.

DISSERTATION VI.

ON THE ORIGIN AND USAGE OF TOURNAMENTS.

All nations that have loved war, or have made it the principal object of their glory, have endeavoured to render themſelves ſkilful in military exerciſes. They have thought it improper to engage in battle before they had learned the rudiments and maxims of war. They were anxious to form their ſoldiers, and teach them the management of their arms, before they led them againſt their enemies. 'Ars enim bellandi, ſi non præluditur, cum neceſſaria fuerit, non habetur,' ſays Caſſiodorus. It is for this reaſon that St Iſidore writes, that the Goths, who were eſteemed great warriors, 'in armorum artibus ſpectabiles,' were accuſtomed to exerciſe themſelves in mock combats: 'Exercere enim ſeſe telis, ac præliis præludere maxime diligunt, ludorum certamina uſu quotidiano gerunt *.'

The French, who have been in fact the moſt warlike of nations, have cultivated the arts of war more than others. They were the inventors of tournaments and juſts, which they brought into uſe to keep up the warlike ſpirit in their gentlemen, and prepare them for real combats This has cauſed a poet of theſe times to write,

'Ante homines domuiſſe feras gens Gallica ab olim
Sanxit, et ad duros belli armorumque labores,
Exercere domi rigidæ præludia pugnæ †.'

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* Iſid. in hiſt. Goth. init.

† Roder. Tolet. l. 1. hiſt. Hiſp. c. 9.

As tournaments were only invented to exerciſe young gentlemen, they are for this reaſon called by Thomas of Walſingham ‘ Ludi militares;’ by Roger Hoveden, ‘ Militaria exercitia;’ by Lambert of Ardres, ‘ Gladiaturæ;’ by the author of the hiſtory of Jeruſalem, ‘ Imaginariæ bellorum proluſiones;’ and laſtly, by William of Neubourg, ‘ Meditationes militares armorum exercitia, belli præludia, quæ nullo interveniente odio, ſed pro ſolo exercitio, atquæ oſtentatione virium fiebant.’

Alexander Necham, Lazius, Chifflet and other authors ſuppoſe the name and origin of tournaments to be derived from the horſe-races of the ancients called ‘ Trojæ,’ and ‘ Trojani ludes,’ which were firſt invented by Æneas when he buried his father Anchiſes in Sicily, whence theſe races were afterwards introduced among the Romans. We cannot doubt but that theſe trojan games were like to our tournaments, from the deſcription Virgil has given of them; for they did not conſiſt ſimply of horſe-racing, as father d'Outreman has written *, ſince Virgil has, in the following verſes, ſhewn the contrary:

‘ —— pugnæque cient ſimulachra ſub armis,
Et nunc terga fugæ mandant, nunc ſpicula vertunt
Infenſi: facta pariter nunc pace feruntur †.’

It is, however, certain, that the exerciſes in tournaments were different from horſe-racing; and it is probable even, that the name of ‘ Tournois’ is not derived from ‘ Troja, quaſi Trojamentum,’ as the authors quoted ſeem to think, and have ſo written, but from the french word, ‘ Tourner,’ which ſignifies to walk or run in a circle. Papias thus interprets the word *tornat*, ‘ in gyrum mittit,’ a word that does not appear new, ſince Paulus Diaconus, and the emperor Maurice, in his Tactics, tell us, that the word ‘ torna’ was uſed in battle, to order the ſoldiers to turn, or wheel, as occaſions ſhould offer. Several have in conſequence imagined, that thoſe women called ‘ Tornatrices,’ by Hincmar, have had this name given to them becauſe they danced in a circle. It is alſo thence that the ancient French have derived the word ‘ Returnar,’ which is found in the treaty of peace between king Louis and Charles le chauve his brother, and the word ‘ Retornare’ in the

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* D'Outreman. in C. P. Bulg. L. 1. c. 11. § 6.

† Æneid. L. 5.

capitularies of this ſame Charles le chauve, which means at this day to return from any place.

Theſe military exerciſes were in very early uſe among us, for Nethardus tells us they were practiſed under the ſecond race of our kings. In deſcribing the interview between Louis king of Germany and Charles le chauve, king of France, at Straſburg, and in relating the various and reciprocal marks of friendſhip which they ſhewed each other, he adds, that to render this meeting more ſolemn there were combats on horſeback between the gentlemen attendants on theſe two princes, to give proofs of their addreſs in arms: ‘ Ludos etiam hoc ordine ſæpe cauſa exercitii frequentabant. Conveniebant autem quocumque congruum ſpectaculo videbatur: et ſubſiſtente hinc omni multitudine, primum pari numero Saxonorum, Waſconorum, Auſtraſiorum, Britannorum, ex utraque parte, veluti ſibi invicem adverſari vellent, alter in alterum veloci curſu ruebat; hinc pars terga verſa umbonibus ad ſocios inſectantes evadere ſe velle ſimulabant. At verſa vice iterum illos quos fugiebant, perſequi ſtudebant: donec noviſſime utrique reges cum omni juventute, ingenti clamore, equis emiſſis, haſtilia criſpantes exiliunt, et nunc his, nunc illis terga dantibus inſiſtunt. Eratque res digna pro tanta nobilitate, nec et moderatione, digna ſpectaculo. Non enim quiſpiam in tanta multitudine ac diverſitate generis, uti ſæpe inter pauciſſimos, et notos contingere ſolet, alicui, aut læſionis aut vituperii quippiam inferre audebat.’ After this paſſage, no doubt can remain but that tournaments were in uſe before the third race of our kings. Nevertheleſs, ancient chronicles attribute the invention of them to Geoffroy lord of Preuilly, father to another Geoffroy, from whom ſprung the counts of Tours. In the chronicle of Tours, this is ſaid of him: ‘ Anno 1066, Gaufridus de Pruliaco, que torneamenta invenit, apud Andegavum occiditur.’ In that of St Martin of Tours, ‘ Anno Henrici Imp. 7. et Philippi Regis 6. fuit proditio apud Andegavum, Gaufridus de Pruliaco, et alii Barones occiſi ſunt. Hic Gaufridus de Pruliaco torneamenta invenit.’

On the other hand, we read in Lambert of Ardres, that Raoul count de Guines, ſon to the count Ardolphus, having gone to France to attend the tournaments received in one of theſe combats a blow that ended his life. Now Raoul lived before this count de Preuilly; for the ſame author writes,

that his ſon Euſtache, on hearing of the death of his father, came inſtantly to Flanders, and did homage for his county of Guines to the count Baldwin le barbu, who held the county of Flanders from the year 989 until the year 1034. So that I do not believe this lord de Preuilly was the inventor of theſe combats or military exerciſes, but that he may have been the firſt who drew up any fixed regulations for them, and rendered them more public and frequent. This is the more probable, as we do not find the word 'tournoy' any where prior to this period: beſides, the greater part of foreign authors candidly acknowledge that tournaments were peculiar to the French. It is for this reaſon they are called by Matthew Paris, in the year 1179, 'Conflictus Gallici,' the uſual combats of the French, in the following paſſage:

'Henricus Rex Anglorum junior mare tranſiens in Conflictibus Gallicis, et profuſioribus expenſis triennium peregit, Regiaque Majeſtate prorſus depoſita, totus eſt de Rege tranſlatus in Militem, et flexis in gyrum frenis, in variis congreſſionibus triumphum reportans, ſui nominis famam circumquaque reſperſit.'

Ralph of Coggeſhall, in his manuſcript chronicle, gives ſimilar teſtimony, writing, that Geoffroy de Mandeville died in the city of London of a wound he received, 'dum more Francorum, cum haſtis, vel contis, ſeſe curſim equitantes viciſſim impeterent.'

Authors have likewiſe remarked, that the French were more adroit in theſe exerciſes than thoſe of other nations. Count Baltazare di Caſtilione, in his Cortigiano, ſpeaks thus of the addreſs of our nation, 'Nel torneare, tener un paſſo, combatere una ſbarra.' And as the lance was the principal weapon uſed in theſe ſorts of combats, they have ever excelled in the management of it, which cauſed Foucher de Chartres to ſay they were 'probiſſimi bellatores, et mirabiles de lanceis percuſſores.'

Albert of Aix gives a deſcription of their lances; and Anna Comnena, Nicetas, and Cinamus, pay this honour to the french nobility, that they ſhewed a particular adroitneſs in the uſe of the lance, and made good uſe of it when occaſions offered.

The Engliſh borrowed from the French the uſage of tournaments, which were firſt practiſed among them under the reign of king Stephen: 'Cum per ejus indecentem mollitiem nullus eſſet publicæ vigor diſciplinæ,'

as William of Neubourg writes: for then, under the reign of Henry II. who ſucceeded Stephen, the Engliſh ‘ Tyronum exercitiis in Anglia prorſus inhibitis, qui forte armorum affectantes gloriam exerceri volebant, transfretantes in terrarum exercebantur confiniis.’

Roger Hoveden and Brompton confirm this remark, relating that Geoffry earl of Brittany, having been made a knight by his father king Henry II. went over from England to Normandy; and that, on the borders of that duchy and France, he engaged in tournaments, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing himſelf ranked among the knights who excelled in theſe kinds of combats.

But king Richard was the firſt who introduced the practice in England; for this illuſtrious prince obſerving that the French were the more valiant the more they were exerciſed, ‘ tanto eſſe acriores, quanto exercitatiores atque inſtructiores, ſui quoque regni milites in propriis finibus exercere voluit, ut ex bellorum ſolemni præludio, verorum addiſcerent artem uſumque bellorum, nec inſultarent Galli Anglis Militibus, tanquam rudibus et minus gnaris*.’

Matthew Paris narrates the ſame circumſtance, which he ſeems to date in the year 1194. ‘ Eodem tempore, rex Richardus in Angliam tranſiens, ſtatim per loca certa torneamenta fieri, hac fortaſſis inductus ratione, ut milites regni utriuſque concurrentes vires ſuas flexis in gyrum frenis experirentur; ut ſi bellum adverſus Crucis inimicos, vel etiam finitimos movere decernerent, agiliores ad prælium, et exercitatiores redderentur.’

This great king, ſeeing the military ardour of his ſubjects, has been, however, blamed for the tax he laid on thoſe who wiſhed to engage in theſe mock combats: ‘ Rege id decernente, et a ſingulis qui exerceri vellent indictæ pecuniæ modulum exigente †.’

The Germans, in like manner, did not practiſe tournaments until they had acquired a knowledge of them from the French.

I know well that Modius‡ traces their origin in that country much higher, and deſcribes tournaments celebrated in Germany long before the the time of Geoffry de Preuilly: but all who are any way verſed in hiſtory

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* Will. Neub. l. 5. c. 4.

† Brompton, p. 1261.

‡ Fr. Modius in Pandect. Triumph.—A. Favyn, l. 10. du Theatre d’Honneur.

are not ignorant that this book is full of fables; and we muſt own, that the author paſſes the bounds of impudence when he tells us of an Anthony marquis of Pont à Mouçon, Claude count of Toulouſe, Paul duke of Bar, Sigiſmond count of Alençon, Louis count of Armagnac, Philippes count of Artois, Anthony count of Boulogne, who, with other imaginary princes, had joined, as he ſays, the emperor Henry I. in his war againſt the Hungarians. It is true, that Munſter, in his geography, has written, that tournaments began to appear in Germany in the year 1066, at which period one was celebrated in the town of Magdebourg. If what he ſtates be true, it was coeval with the time in which Geoffry de Preuilly invented them; and it is not quite impoſſible but that the Germans might have learnt the uſe of them from him, at the ſame time with the French.

But among all the authors who have written on tournaments, the Greeks frankly own that their nation has copied the practice of them from the Latins; that is to ſay, the French, who were the inventors. Nicephorus Gregoras ſpeaks in theſe terms: *ειτα και αγωνας εξετελεσε δυο, μιμησιν τινα των Ολυμπιακων αποσωζοντας,—οἱ δη τοις Δατινοις παλαι επινενοηται γυμνασιας ἑνεκα σωματος, οθοτεν σχολην αγοιεν των πολεμικον* *.

Johannes Cantacuzenus more particularly marks the period when tournaments were firſt uſed in the empire of the eaſt, namely, when Anne of Savoy, daughter to Amé IV. count of Savoy, came to Conſtantinople to eſpouſe the young emperor Andronicus Paleologus, which marriage took place in the year 1326; for then the nobility of Savoy and of France who had accompanied this princeſs performed tournaments in the capital of the empire, and thus taught the uſe of them to the Greeks: *και την λεγομενην τζουστριαν, και τα τερνεμεντα αυτοι πρωτοι εδιδαξαν Ρωμαιους, ουπω προτερον περι τοιουτων ειδοτας ουδεν* †.

But there is reaſon to believe that tournaments were celebrated in the greek empire before this; for Nicetas ‡ informs us, that during the ſtay of the emperor Manuel Comnenus in the town of Antioch, the Greeks and Latins engaged each other in a tournament, and that he himſelf was there,

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* Niceph. Gregor. l. 10. p. 339.

† Jo. Cantacuz. l. 1. c. 42.

‡ Nicetas in Man. l. 3. c. 3.

and being willing to ſhew that he was no way inferior to the French in the management of a lance, was perſonally engaged on the ſide of thoſe of his nation. There is alſo ground to ſuppoſe that this emperor introduced the uſage of them into his kingdom. Cinnamus writes, that on his ſucceſſion to the empire he taught his people a new mode of fighting, ordering them in future to uſe long ſhields inſtead of round ones, and to learn the management of long lances, like to the French, and to ride well on horſeback: he then made them exerciſe their arms againſt each other in harmleſs combats, which are nothing elſe than tournaments. Theſe are the words of this author: τας γαρ εκ των πολεμιων ανεσεις, πολεμων αυτος ποιεισθαι θελων παρασκευας, ἱππευεσθαι ειωθη τα πολλα, σχημα τε πολεμου πεποιημενος, παραταξεις τινας αντιμετωπους αλληλαις ἰσα. οὑτω τε δορασιν επελαυνων τοις αντιξυλοις κινησιν εγυμνασαντο την εν τοις ὁπλοις *.

Anna Comnena ſeems to allude to theſe exerciſes of tournaments, and proves that they were in uſe during the reign of her father the emperor Alexis: εμιμελως τε εκπαιδευειν ὁπως χρη τοξον τεινειν, και δορυ κραδαινειν, ἱππουτε ἐλαυνειν, και μερικας ποιεισθαι συνταξεις †. Theſe laſt words clearly allude to tournaments, or to combats maintained by companies.

The principal object of the uſe of tournaments was to exerciſe thoſe who were intended for the profeſſion of arms, to teach them the management of them, to ride well on horſeback, and to give proofs of their courage: 'pro ſolo exercitio atque oſtentatione virium,' as William of Neubourg writes: γυμνασιας ενεκα σωματος, as Gregoras ſays; and, in ſhort, 'ut ex ſolemni bellorum præludio verorum addiſceretur ars uſuſque bellorum.' For it is difficult for any one to perform brilliant actions in battle, if he has not been previouſly trained in military exerciſes, and paſſed all the trials neceſſary for learning ſo difficult and ſo dangerous a profeſſion.

Roger Hoveden, page 588, ſpeaking of tournaments, after noticing the paſſage of Caſſiodorus which I have quoted, adds theſe words: 'Non poteſt athleta magnos ſpiritus ad certamen afferre, qui nunquam ſuggilatus eſt. Ille qui ſanguinem ſuum vidit, cujus dentes crepuerunt ſub pugno, ille qui ſupplantatus adverſarium toto tulit corpore, nec projecit animum projectus,

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* Cinnamus, l. 3. p. 134.

† Anna Comn. l. 15. Alexiad.

qui quoties cecidit contumacior ſurrexit, cum magna ſpe deſcendit ad pugnam.'

As the combats in tournaments were only for learning the art of war, and to exerciſe the youths, no arms that could wound were employed by thoſe who entered the liſts. Dion writes, that the emperor Marcus Aurelius was deſirous that gladiators ſhould uſe blunted and edgeleſs ſwords, having at their points a button, σιδηριον γαρ ουδεποτε ουδενι αυτων οξυ εδωκεν, αλλα και αμβλεσιν ὡσπερ εσφαιρωμενοις παντες εμαχοντο. Seneca calls this ſort of arms 'luſoria arma, luſoria tela,' and our old French 'glaives courtois,' that is to ſay, harmleſs lances, without any head of iron. The treatiſe in manuſcript on the knights of the round table ſays, that theſe knights 'ne portoient nules eſpées, fors glaives courtois qui eſtoient de ſapin, ou d'if, avec cours fers, ſans eſtre trenchant, ne eſmoulus.' Even the 'Diſeurs,' or judges of the tournament, made the knights who were about to engage ſwear, 'qu'ils ne porteroient eſpées, armures, ne baſtons affuſtiez, ne enfonceroient leurs armes, ne eſtaquettes affiſes par iceux diſeurs,' (which is repeated in a manuſcript treatiſe on tournaments,) but would fight with 'eſpées ſans pointes et rabatuës, et auroit chaſcun tournoyant un baſton pendu à ſa ſelle, et feroient des dites eſpées et baſtons tant qu'il plaira auſdits diſeurs.'

Another treatiſe on tournaments adds, that the knights 'tournoioient d'eſpèes rabatuës, les taillans et pointes rompuës, et de baſtons tels que à tournoy appartient, et devoient frapper de haut en bas ſans tirer ne ſans ſaquier.'

Jacques Valere, in his manuſcript treatiſe on tournaments ſays, that the 'tornoyans doivent eſtre montez et armez de nobles harnois de tournoy, chaſcun armoié de ſes armes, en hautes ſelles, piſſiere, et chanfrain, pour tournoyer de gratieuſes eſpées, rabatuës, et pointes briſées, et de cours baſtons.' Further on he ſays, 'qu' ils devoient frapper du haut en bas ſans le bouter d'eſtocq, ou hacier, ne tournoyer mal courtoiſement. Car en ce faiſant il ne gaigneroit riens, ne point de prix d'armes n'auroit, mais l'amenderoit ou dit des juges.'

An ancient author writes on this ſubject, that 'torneamentum percutiendo non etiam infringendo, juxta ſolitum exercetur.' If, therefore, the combatant in a tournament any way acted in a contrary manner, he was reprimanded

by the judges of the tournament. Matthew Paris, in the year 1252, ſays, that Roger de Lemburne, an engliſh knight, having mortally wounded in the throat Hernaud de Montigny with the point of a lance, which was not blunted, ‘ lanceæ mucrone qui, pro ut debebat, non erat hebetatus,’ although he profeſſed innocency, was nevertheleſs ſuſpected of having acted treacherouſly on this occaſion. But if it happened that one combatant killed or wounded his adverſary with the uſual arms of a tournament, when he did nothing contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of tournaments, he did not receive any blame. This is particularly noticed by Gregoras, in theſe words: επει και τον τρωσαντα, η και αποκτεινοντα συμβαν ουτοσι πως, καν τοις αγωσιν αμφοτεραις, ανεγκλητον ειναι σφισι νομιμον ην *.

Thoſe who were appointed judges of a tournament carefully meaſured the lances of the knights, and examined their other arms, and took care that they were not tied to their ſaddles, which was forbidden by the laws of tournaments, and is expreſſed in the manuſcript treatiſe I have before quoted as follows: ‘ A laquelle entrée ſe tiennent le ſuſdits deux juges et officiers d’armes de la marche, leſquelles raviſſent leurs eſpées, pour ſçavoir ſi elles ſont raiſonnables, et auſſi le baſton s’il eſt de muiſon.’

In the Cry des Tournoys, ‘ et lendemain tenir feneſtre comme deſſus, et après diſner à l’heure deſſus nommée venir es pleins rens, montez et armez à tout lances meſurées et muiſonnées de lance de muiſon, et courteois rochets; c’eſt à ſçavoir meſurées à la gauges qui y ſera commiſe et ordonnée de meſſieurs les adventureux ſans eſtre liez ne attachez. Car ſe il êtoit ſeu, ne trouvé, jaçoit ce qu’il Forjouſtaſt, ſi perdroit-il s’en pris pour la journée; et qui jouſteroit de plus longue lance qu’il ne devroit, il perdroit la lance garnie. Et qui jouſteroit de forcours, il peut bien perdre et rien gagner.’

Although the inventors of tournaments and their laws ſeem to have taken every neceſſary precaution to avoid any inconveniences that might happen, nevertheleſs there were frequent accidents ariſing from the heat of battle, and from the hatred or envy of the combatants; for there were ſome who, not being maſters of themſelves, were hurried away by their paſſions, and their eagerneſs for victory, and, regardleſs of the rules preſcribed, exerted their

* Niceph. Gregor. p. 340.

efforts to unhorſe their adverſary by every advantage they could make uſe of. There were others who took theſe opportunities of revenging themſelves on their enemies. It was therefore judged proper, that when any perſon was created a knight, he ſhould ſwear, that he would frequent tournaments ſolely to learn warlike exerciſes: ‘ ſe tirocinia non niſi cauſa militaris exercitii frequentaturos:’ for it often happened that theſe combats, which were firſt uſed as diverſions and exerciſes, were turned into deadly quarrels. Henry Knighton, ſpeaking of the tournament at Châlons in the year 1274, when king Edward and the Engliſh fought againſt the count de Châlons and the Burgundians, ſays, that the two parties oppoſed each other with ſo much heat and jealouſy that ſeveral were left dead on the field: ‘ adeo ut non torneamentum, ſed parvum bellum de Chalon communiter diceretur.’ And Matthew Paris, relating another tournament in the year 1241: ‘ Fuerunt autem ibidem multi tam milites quam armigeri vulnerati, et clavis cæſi, et graviter læſi, eo quod invidia multorum ludum in prælium commutavit.’

Hiſtory is full of melancholy accidents that happened at tournaments. Raoul count de Guines loſt his life at one, as has been mentioned: Robert of Jeruſalem, count of Flanders, was mortally wounded at another. Geoffroy de Magneville, earl of Eſſex, was likewiſe killed in the year 1216. Florent count of Hainault and Philip count of Boulogne and of Clermont were ſlain at a tournament held at Corbie in the year 1223; as was the count of Holland at the one held at Neumague in the year 1234. Gilbert earl of Pembroke loſt his life at a tournament in the year 1241; as did Hernaud de Montigny, an engliſh knight in 1252, and John marquis of Brandenbourg in 1269. The count de Clermont was ſo deſperately wounded at one, in the year 1279, that he loſt his ſenſes. Louis, ſon to the count palatine of the Rhine, was killed at one in the year 1289: John duke of Brabant ſuffered in like manner in 1294, and very many other perſons of high rank, whom I paſs over, but they are mentioned by different hiſtorians. Such unfortunate accidents gave occaſion to the popes to forbid tournaments under very heavy penalties, excommunicating all who ſhould be preſent, and denying burial in conſecrated ground to all ſuch who ſhould loſe their lives at them.

Innocent II. Eugenius III. and after them Alexander III. in the council of the Lateran, in the year 1179, were the firſt who fulminated their anathemas, declaiming againſt tournaments, and calling them ‘ Deteſtabiles nundinas vel ferias, quas vulgo torneamenta vocant, in quibus milites ex condicto convenire ſolent, et ad oſtentationem virium ſuarum et audaciæ temere congrediuntur, unde mortes hominum et pericula animarum ſæpe proveniunt.’ This council adds theſe words, ‘ Et ſi quis eorum ibi mortuus fuerit, quamvis ei pœnitentia non denegetur, eccleſiaſtica tamen careat ſepultura.’ Innocent III. interdicted them, in like manner, for five years, under pain of excommunication. This has cauſed Cæſarius to ſay, that he had no difficulty in declaring, that thoſe who were killed at tournaments were damned : ‘ De his vero qui in torneamentis cadunt, nulla quæſtio eſt, quin vadant ad inferos, ſi non fuerint adjuti beneficio contritionis.’ He afterwards ſpeaks of a viſion of a ſpaniſh prieſt, who ſaw in it ſome knights who had loſt their lives at tournaments, and who requeſted to have ſuccour from the prayers of the faithful. To this alſo may be referred another viſion, which Matthew Paris ſpeaks of in the year 1227, writing that Roger de Toëny, a valiant knight, appeared after death to his brother Raoul, and thus addreſſed him : ‘ Jam et pœnas vidi malorum, et gaudio beatorum : nec non ſupplicia magna, quibus miſer deputatus ſum, occulis meis conſpexi. Væ, væ mihi, quare unquam torneamenta exercui, et ea tanto ſtudio dilexi ?’

The Grande Chronique Belgique informs us, that in the year 1240 a tournament was held at Nuis, near Cologne, after Whitſuntide, when ſixty knights and eſquires having loſt their lives, the greater number ſuffocated with duſt, cries of demons were heard after their death, and they appeared hovering over their dead bodies under the figures of crows and vultures. It is therefore from the expreſſions in theſe councils, that tournaments are called by St Bernard, by Cæſarius, and Lambert of Ardres, ‘ Nundinæ execrabiles et maledictæ.’

Innocent IV. was not leſs rigorous, in his attempts to aboliſh tournaments, than his predeceſſors; but not ſucceeding in their entire aboliſhment, he forbade them for three years, at a council held at Lyon in

the year 1245, under the pretext that they prevented gentlemen from going to the holy wars in Paleſtine.

He alleged, as another cauſe for his condemning them, the enormous expenſe knights were at on theſe occaſions, which he endeavoured to check, as well as many others as ſuperfluous, for they prevented the nobles from contributing what was thought neceſſary for the ſupport of the holy wars. Lambert d'Ardres writes, 'Cum omnino tunc temporis propter Dominici ſepulchri peregrinationem in toto orbe interdicta fuiſſent torneamenta.' In truth, the nobility and gentry were at prodigious expenſes at theſe meetings, either in their dreſs, their attendants, in the coſt of their horſes, or in the expenditure for the long journies they were frequently forced to make, to attend tournaments at diſtant places. This has cauſed the cardinal Jacques de Vitry to expreſs himſelf in the following terms, reſpecting ſubjects who ſuffered infinitely from the expenſes of their lords: 'Maxime cum eorum domini prodigalitati vacantes et luxui pro torneamentis et pompoſa ſæculi vanitate expenſis ſuperfluis et debitis aſtringebantur et uſuris.'

Lambert d'Ardres, ſpeaking of the prodigalities of Arnoul le jeune, lord of Ardres, ſays, 'Licet extra patriam munificus et liberalis, et expenſaticus diceretur, et circa militiam quidquid militantium et torneamentantium conſuetudo poſcebat et ratio, quaſi prodigaliter expenderet.'

Pope Nicholas IV. ſhewed the ſame zeal as his predeceſſors to aboliſh tournaments, eſpecially in France, where they were more frequently held, than in other kingdoms, threatening with excommunication ſuch as ſhould not obey his commands; and becauſe the cardinal of St Cecilia, legate from the holy ſee to France, who had publiſhed this bull, had granted a ſuperſedeas to its effect, at the entreaty of the king, for three years, he bitterly reprimanded him, in his letter to the cardinal, which is inſerted in 'Les Annales Eccleſiaſtiques.'

Clement V. in like manner interdicted tournaments, principally on account of the deſign which he had formed to make the Chriſtian princes undertake a war againſt the infidels. His bull is dated at Peraen de Granſille, near to Malauſane, in the dioceſe of Batas, the 14th day of September, in the 8th year of his pontificate, from which I ſhall extract all

that is neceſſary for my ſubject: 'Cum enim in torneamentis et juſtis in aliquibus partibus fieri ſolitis multa pericula immineant animarum et corporum, quorum deſtructiones plerumque contingunt, nemini vertitur in dubium ſanæ mentis, quin illi qui torneamenta faciunt, vel fieri procurant, impedimentum procurant paſſagio faciendo, ad quos homines, equi, et pecunia et expenſæ fore neceſſaria dinoſcuntur, quorum torneamentorum factura cum gravis pœnæ adjectione a noſtris prædeceſſoribus et interdicta.'

But the ardour of the nobility was ſo great, for the opportunities that tournaments in times of peace afforded them to diſplay their valour, that no anathema or bull of the popes could put an end to them. This occaſions William of Neubourg to ſay, 'Licet ſolemnem illum tironum concurſum tanta ſub gravi cenſura vetuerit pontificum autoritas, fervor tamen juvenum armorum vaniſſimum affectantium gloriam, gaudens favore principum probatos habere tirones volentium, eccleſiaſticæ proviſionis ſprevit decretum.' And Henry Knighton writes, that in the year 1191, 'Fiebant interea ad tironum exercitium intermiſſa diu torneamenta, quaſi bellorum præludia, nonobſtante papali prohibitione.'

As the peril attendant on tournaments was ſo great as to afford reaſon for the popes to forbid them, under pain of excommunication, kings and princes of the blood-royal were exempted from engaging in them, on account of their important rank. Du Tillet, page 313, relates, that king Philippes Auguſte in the month of May 1209, received the oath of his two ſons Louis de France and Philip count de Boulogne that they would never go to any tournament without his leave, under pretext of ſignalizing their valour, or of gaining the prize; allowing them, however, to attend any tournament that might be holden near to their reſidences, but without arming themſelves like knights, having only their helmets and corſlets.

Petrarca, writing to Hugh marquis of Ferrara, ſays, that it was becoming only ſimple knights to attend tournaments, who may not have other means or opportunities of ſhewing their courage and addreſs, and whoſe deaths would be of little importance; but that princes, who could eaſily find occaſions to diſplay their valour in a thouſand inſtances, and whoſe lives were of conſequence to their ſubjects, ſhould abſtain from ſuch meetings.

We read, however, that not only princes of high rank attended theſe military exerciſes, and fought at them as knights, but alſo of kings and emperors doing the ſame. Nicetas writes, that the emperor Manuel Comnenus, with his Greeks, combated in a tournament given by prince Raymond at Antioch, and that he unhorſed, by one blow of his lance, two french knights, throwing the one on the other. The emperor Andronicus Paleologus, the younger, perſonally engaged in a tournament held at Didymothycos, in honour of the birth of his ſon John. Edward I. king of England, fought at a tournament at Châlons, as I have before remarked; and Froiſſart tells us, that Charles VI. of France at the marriage of William of Hainault with Margaret of Burgundy, ſolemniſed at Cambrai in the year 1385, tilted with a knight of Hainault called ſir Nicholas d'Eſpinoit. Francis I. and Henry VIII. kings of France and of England, at their interview between Ardres and Guines, in the year 1550, combated in a tournament held there. In fine, king Henry II. of France tilted at Paris againſt the count de Montgomery, and received a blow on his eye, which cauſed his death.

Secular princes forbade tournaments alſo, but for reaſons different from thoſe which actuated the popes. William of Nangis writes, that St Louis having received intelligence from the pope, in the year 1260, of the defeat of the Chriſtians in the holy land, and in Armenia by the infidels, ordered public prayers, and forbade tournaments for two years: he would not permit any other games than the exerciſe of the long and croſs-bow. King Philippes le hardy prolonged this prohibition of tilts and tournaments, which had been only iſſued for a time, by an ordinance which was regiſtered in the parliament at Whitſuntide of the year 1280. Such prohibitions were particularly ordered during the wars of our kings with their neighbours, as may be collected from the ordinances of king Philippes le bel, of the years 1304 and 1305, which are now in 'Le Treſor des Chartes du Roi.'

In another, of the laſt day but one of December 1311, which is inſerted in a regiſter of the chamber of accounts at Paris, and communica ed to me by M. d'Herouval, from which I have extracted what follows, the ſame

king urges no other pretext for his injunction than the diſorders that happened at ſuch meetings.

‘ Philippus D. G. Francorum rex univerſis et ſingulis baronibus, et quibuſcumque nobilibus regni noſtri, nec non omnibus baillivis et feneſcallis, et aliis quibuſcumque juſtitiariis regni ejuſdem, ad quos præſentes litteræ pervenerint, Salutem. Periculis et incommodis quæ ex torneamentis, congregationibus armatorum, et armorum portationibus in diverſis regni noſtri partibus hactenus proveniſſe noſcuntur, obviare volentes, ac ſuper hoc prorſus noſtro tempore prout ex officii noſtri debito tenemur, ſalubriter providere, vobis et cuilibet veſtrum ſub fide qua nobis tenemini, et ſub omni pæna quam vobis infligere poſſumus, præcipimus et mandamus quatenas congregationes armatorum et armorum portationes facere, vel ad torneamenta accedere, quas et quæ præſentibus prohibemus ſub pæna prædicta, ullatenus de cætero præſumatis, nec in contrarium fieri permittatis a quocumque, voſque feneſcalli, baillivi et juſtitiarii noſtri prædicti in aſſiſiis et aliis in locis veſtris ac reſſortus eorum facietis prædicta celeriter publicari. Contrarium attentantes capiatis cum eorum familiis, equis, armis, harneſiis, nec non terris et hæreditatibus eorum. Quas terras et hæreditates cum aliis eorum quibuſcumque bonis teneatis et expletetis ſine omni deliberatione de recredentia facienda de his ſine noſtro ſpeciali mandato. Præmiſſam torneamentorum prohibitionem durare volumus, quamdiu noſtræ placuerit voluntati, ex omnibus ſubjectis noſtris ſub fide qua nobis adſtricti tenentur torneamenta hujuſmodi prohibemus. Datum Piſſiaci penultima die Decemb. an. D. 1311.’

Philippes le long likewiſe prohibited tournaments by a general ordinance of the 23d October in the year 1318, and by a particular one the eight of February of the following year, directed to the bailiff of the Vermandois. The king’s reaſons for this prohibition are as follows: ‘ Quar ſe nous les ſouffrions a faire, nous ne pourrions pas ávoir les nobles de noſtre royaume ſi preſtement pour nous aidier à noſtre guerre de Flandres,’ &c.

At times, tournaments have been forbidden, for a ſeaſon, on account of ſome grand ceremony, through fear that the great lords and knights, who might be deſirous of diſplaying their addreſs, ſhould neglect to attend the ceremony in queſtion, which would be leſs ſplendid and ſolemn by their

abſence. Thus king Philippes le bel intending to create his ſons knights, in order to render the ceremony more magnificent, iſſued a ſimilar injunction in the year 1312. The original edict is in the chamber of accounts at Paris, from which I ſhall make the following extract; and I the more readily do ſo, becauſe it ſpeaks of a ſort of tilt or tournament, which it calls 'Tupineiz,' a word perfectly unknown to me, ſince I have never ſeen it elſewhere, and which may, perhaps, ſignify round tables. This piece was communicated to me, with many others, by M. d'Herouval.

'Philippe par la grace de Dieu roi de France, à noſtre gardien de Lions, Salut. Comme nous entendons à donner à noſtre très cher ainznè fils Loys roy de Navarre comte de Champaigne, et de Brie Palazin, et à nos autres deux fils ſes freres en ce nouviau temps, ordre de chevalerie: et ja pieça par pluſieurs fois nous euſſions fait defendre generalement par tout noſtre royaume toutes manieres d'armes, et de tournoiemens, et que nuls ſur quanques ils ſe pooient meffaire envers nous, n'allaſt à tournoiemens en noſtre royaume ne hors, ou feiſt ne allaſt à jouſtes, Tupineiz, ou feiſt autres fais ou portemens d'armes, pource que pluſieurs nobles et grans perſonnes de noſtre garde ſe ſont fait faire, et ſe ſont accouſtumez de eux faire faire chevaliers eſdits tournoiemens, et non contreſtant cette general defenſe, pluſieurs nobles perſonnes de noſtre dite garde aient eſté et ſoient allez au tournoiement par pluſieurs fois à Jouſtes, à Tupineiz, tant en noſtre royaume comme dehors, et en autres pluſieurs fais d'armes en enfraignant noſtre dite defenſe, et en iceux tournoiemens pluſieurs ſe ſoient fait faire chevaliers et ſeur ce qu'ils ont fait contre noſtre dite défenſe vous n'ayez mis remede, laquelle choſe nous deplaiſt moult forment: nous vous mandons et commandons ſi eſtroitement comme nous poons plus, et ſur peine d'encourir noſtre malivolence, que tous ceux que vous ſaurez de noſtre garde qui ont eſté puis noſtre dite defenſe à tournoiemens, jouſtes, tupineiz, ou en autres faiz d'armes, ou que ce ait eſté en noſtre royaume, ou hors, que vous ſans delay les faciez prandre et mettre en priſon pardevers vous en mettant en noſtre main tous leurs biens. Et quant il ſeront devers vous en priſon, ſi leur faites amander ce qu'il auront fait contre notre dite defenſe: et ce fait ſi leur recréez leur biens, et avec ce quant il auront amendé, ſi leur faites jurer ſur Sains, et avec ce leur defendez de par nous ſus poine d'ancourir

notre indignation, et de tenir priſon chaſcun un an, et ſus poine de perdre une année chaſcun les fruiz de ſa terre, qu'il tiendront les ordenances que nous avons fait ſus le fait des armes, qui ſont teles : c'eſt aſavoir que nuls ne ſoit ſi hardi de noſtre royaume qui voiſt a tournoiemens, à jouſtes, tupineiz ou en autre fait d'armes, ſoit en noſtre royaume ou hors, juſques à la feſte S. Remy prochaine venant, et leur faites bien ſavoir que encores avons nous ordené que s'il font au contraire de ce, que leur chevaux et leur harnois nous avons abandonné aux ſeigneurs ſous qui juriſdiction il ſeront trouvé, et quant il auront enſi juré, ſi leur delivrez leur cors. Encore vous mandons nous que l'ordenance deſſuſdite vous faciez crier et publier ſolempnellement ſans delay par les lieux de voſtre garde, ou vous ſaurez qu'il ſera à faire, et de défendre de par nous que nuls ne ſoit ſi hardy ſur la peine deſſuſdite d'aler aux armes à tournoiemens, jouſtes, ou tupineiz, en noſtre royaume, ou hors, juſques à ladite feſte de S. Remy, et faites cette beſoigne ſi diligemment, que vous n'en puiſſiez eſtre repris de negligence, ou de inobedience, auquel cas ſe il avient, nous vous punirons en tele maniere, que vous vous en apercevrez. Donné à Fontainebliaut le 28. jour de Decemb. l'an de grace 1312.'

DISSERTATION VII.

ON ARMS A OUTRANCE AND JUSTS; ON THE ROUND TABLE; ON BEHOURDS AND THE QUINTAIN*.

THE tournaments of which I have ſpoken were but games and amuſements to exerciſe the nobility. It was for this reaſon that blunted arms were uſed; and if at times unfortunate accidents happened, it was contrary to the intention and ſpirit of their inventors, who had endeavoured to prevent any ſuch from taking place by the regulations and laws which they had laid down.

In courſe of time, other arms were uſed at tournaments, and the combatants fought with the ſame as they uſed in war; that is to ſay, with ſwords and lances, whoſe points were not blunted: whence Matthew Paris calls this ſort of tournament 'torneamentum aculeatum et hoſtile,' from each party fighting with offenſive arms like enemies. The old french authors have given them the name of 'armes à outrance,' inſomuch that theſe combats were ſcarcely ever terminated without effuſion of blood, the death of thoſe who entered the liſts, or a confeſſion or avowal of guilt of the party conquered.

The edict of Philippes le bel reſpecting duels, and Hardoüin de la Jaille in his treatiſe on the ſame ſubject, which he dedicated to René king of Sicily, allow of ſeveral caſes in which a combatant was held as vanquiſhed in duel. The firſt, when one of the combatants confeſſes himſelf guilty of the crime he is accuſed of, and ſurrenders himſelf voluntarily to his accuſer: the ſecond

* See Strutt's Sports and Paſtimes of the Ancient Engliſh.

when one of the parties is thrown out of the liſts, or takes to flight: the third, when he is killed in the duel: for in all theſe caſes, 'le gage de battaille eſtoit outrè,' the words of the king's edict, the wager of battle was loſt, being decided by the death, flight or confeſſion of one of the parties. The word 'outrer' ſignifies properly to pierce an enemy with ſword or lance; and at this day it is ſaid in French, 'Il lui a percé le corps d'outre en outre.'

Armes à outrance were uſed ſynonimouſly for ſuch combats as were fought with offenſive arms, by conſent of each party, without any orders from the judges, but nevertheleſs before judges named and choſen by the parties, and under conditions which had been reciprocally agreed upon. In this reſpect, theſe combats, if only man to man, were different from duels, which were always ordered by ſentence of the judges of the courts of juſtice.

The combats with armes à outrance commonly took place between enemies, or perſons of different nations, under different princes, according to the challenges and conditions of combat carried by kings at arms and heralds. Princes mutually granted letters of ſafe conduct to ſuch as were to engage in theſe combats. The judges of the combat were alſo choſen by the princes, and ſometimes the princes themſelves acted in this quality. Theſe challenges were often made in general terms without naming the perſons who were to fight, only marking the number of perſons the combat was to conſiſt of, the ſort of arms to be uſed, and the number of thruſts or blows to be given. But although the number of blows was uſually limited, yet they ſcarcely ever ſeparated without ſome being ſlain or very grievouſly wounded.

Such mortal combats for the moſt part occurred between perſons unacquainted with each other, or who at leaſt had not any particular cauſe of quarrel, but ſolely to exhibit their bravery, generoſity, and addreſs in arms. It was for this reaſon that particular regulations and general rules had been made for theſe combats; from which, however, they deviated at times, by private conditions propoſed and accepted by either party.

The moſt uſual of theſe laws was, that if the parties fought with ſword or lance, they muſt ſtrike their blows between the four members; for if they ſtruck elſewhere, they were blamed and condemned by the judges of the

combat. The puniſhment of ſuch as did not obſerve the laws of the combat was the loſs of their arms and horſes.

There are an infinity of examples of this ſort of combats, in Matthew Paris, in Froiſſart, in the hiſtory of the duke of Bourbon by Oronville, in George Châtellain, Monſtrelet, Caxton and other authors, which ſhew that they were commonly fought as a ſort of prelude to a general battle between two nations inimical to each other: ſo that the vulgar expreſſion of a tournoy was uſed, when ſlight engagements took place previous to a general one, which latin writers ſtile 'bellum campale.' The lord de Joinville ſpeaks of a mortal juſt between a genoeſe knight and a ſaracen.

Sometimes the combat with 'armes à outrance' was fought between perſons not enemies to the ſtate, the challenge being general to all who ſhould chooſe to enter the liſts, according to the terms offered by the challengers. This kind of combat is called by Matthew Paris, 'Torneamentum quaſi hoſtile;' for although it was not fought by perſons enemies to each other, the effects were, nevertheleſs, ſimilar, ſince the ſame arms were employed as in war, and the conſequences were equally perilous. We have a ſingular inſtance of a tournament of this nature, which was propoſed and undertaken by John duke of Bourbon, in the year 1414. As the terms of the challenge, which he had proclaimed, diſcover the uſages of this kind of combat, and beſides, as they have never been made public, I ſhall inſert them here, after acknowledging that I have copied them from the memoirs of M. de Piereſc, communicated to me by M. d'Herouval.

'Nous Jean duc de Bourbonnois, comte de Clermont, de Fois, et de l'Iſle, ſeigneur de Beaujeu per et chambrier de France, deſirans eſchiver oiſiveté, et explecter noſtre perſonne, en advançant noſtre honneur par le meſtier des armes, penſant y acquerir bonne renommée, et la grace de la très belle, de qui nous ſommes ſerviteurs, avon n'agueres voüe et empris, que nous accompagne de ſeize autres chevaliers et eſcuyers de nom et d'armes, c'eſt aſavoir, l'admiral de France, meſſire Jean de Châlons, le ſeigneur de Barbaſen, le ſeigneur du Chaſtel, le ſeigneur de Gaucourt, le ſeigneur de la Hueze, le ſeigneur de Gamaches, le ſeigneur de St Remy, le ſeigneur de Monſures, meſſire Guillaume Bataille, meſſire Drouet d'Aſnieres,

le ſeigneur de la Fayette, et le ſeigneur de Poularques, chevaliers: Carmalet, Loys Cochet, et Jean du Pont, eſcuyers, porterons en la jambe feneſtre chaſcun un fer de priſonnier pendant a une chaiſne, qui ſeront d'or pour les chevaliers, et d'argent pour les eſcuyers par tous les dimanches de deux ans entiers, commençans le dimanche prochain après la date de ces preſentes, ou cas que pluſtoſt ne trouverons pareil nombre de chevaliers et eſcuyers de nom, et d'armes ſans reproche, que tous enſemblement nous veuillent combattre a pied juſques a outrance, armez chaſcun de tels harnois qu'il luy plaira, portant lance, haſche, eſpee, et dague, ou moins de baſton de telle longueur que chaſcun voudra avoir, pour eſtre priſonniers les uns des autres, par telle condition que ceux de noſtre part qui ſeront outrez, ſoient quittes en baillant chaſcun un fer et chaiſne pareille a ceux que nous portons; et ceux de l'autre part qui ſeront outrez ſeront quittes chaſcun pour un bracelet d'or aux chevaliers et d'argent aux eſcuyers pour donner la où bon leur ſembleroit,' &c.

Another article ſhews that this combat was to be performed in England.

'Item, et ſerons tenus nous duc de Bourbonnois quand nous irons en Angleterre, ou devant le juge que ſera accorde, de le faire ſçavoir a tous ceux de noſtre compaignie que ne ſeroient par deça, et de bailler a noſdits compagnons telles lettres de monſeigneur le roy, qui leur ſeront neceſſaires pour leur licence et conge, &c. Fait à Paris le premier de Janvier l'an de grace 1414.'

In like manner as there were general combats in this ſort of tournament, ſo were there ſingle ones. Such were the combats of Poton de Saintrailles, knight, in the town of Arras, againſt Lionel de Vandonne, chevalier Boulonois, in the year 1423, and againſt Nicholas Menton, knight, in the year 1429, at the ſame place, in preſence of a large aſſembly of the nobility.

The word 'Tournoy' was a general expreſſion, which comprehended all ſorts of combats that were performed by way of exerciſe: but it more properly meant ſuch as were performed by companies, where ſeveral were engaged againſt an equal number, repreſenting the form of a battle. When theſe general combats were ended, then the ſingle ones commenced; for all

who were deſirous of diſplaying their addreſs, and attracting public notice for their valour, offered ſingle combat with ſword or lance againſt all who ſhould preſent themſelves; and the ſtrokes each were to give were commonly limited to three. Theſe combats were called by the old french writers ‘ Jouſtes;’ but it is not eaſy to gueſs the origin of the word, unleſs we derive it from the Latin ‘ Juxta,’ and the very old word ‘ Jouxte,’ becauſe theſe combats were fought very near, or hand to hand.

Theſe juſts were not always performed on the occaſion of tournaments, but often ſeparately according to the proclamations made by knights who propoſed them, and offered combat to all comers, man to man, at places fixed on, and according to the terms of the challenge contained in their letters of defiance. Theſe combats are called by the hiſtorian of the mareſchal de Boucicaut, ‘ Jouſtes à tous venans, grandes, et plenieres.’

It was more honourable to combat at tournaments than at juſts, as appears from this ceremony, that the perſon who fought at a tournament for the firſt time was obliged on his departure to give his helmet to the kings and heralds at arms: this was likewiſe done by thoſe who engaged for the firſt time at juſts: but he who, having fought at tournaments, advanced for the firſt time to do the ſame at juſts, was not obliged a ſecond time to give his helmet to the heralds at arms; not ſo thoſe who had fought at juſts, and then engaged at a tournament, for they were bounden to leave their helmets behind them on their departure. This we learn from a MS. treatiſe on tournaments, which alſo informs us, that the ſword was the weapon employed at tournaments, and the lance at juſts.

Theſe ‘ jouſtes plenieres,’ mentioned in the hiſtory of Boucicaut, were properly the combats ſtyled ‘ combats of the round table,’ which authors confound with juſts; for it is to be obſerved, that they differed from tournaments, inaſmuch as the engagements at theſe were performed by companies, and thoſe of the round table by ſingle combatants.

The ancient romancers attribute the glory of inventing tournaments, juſts, and the round table, to the famous Arthur king of the Britons. The Engliſh even perſuade themſelves, that this table is ſtill to be ſeen attached to the walls of the old caſtle of Wincheſter; but this is with reaſon doubted by Camden, who writes that this table is of much more recent date.

Thomas of Walſingham ſays, that king Edward III. built, at his caſtle of Windſor, a tower to which he gave the name of the Round Table, having a diameter of two hundred feet, and now called the Round Tower.

Many imagine, and with much probability, that juſts were called Round Tables, from the knights who had been engaged at them returning to ſup with the author of the juſt, and being ſeated at a round table. This was practiſed in imitation of the ancient princes of Gaul, who, according to Athenæus, were accuſtomed to ſeat themſelves at a round table, each having his eſquire behind him, and this might have probably been done to avoid all diſputes for precedency, which frequently happened.

The manuſcript treatiſe on tournaments obſerves, that when the knights who had fought at them, or at the juſts, were returned to their lodgings, they diſarmed and waſhed themſelves, and then went to ſup with the lord who had given them the entertainment of ſuch military exerciſes. While they were at table eating, the principal judges of the tournoy, whom the MS. ſtyles ‘ Diſeurs,’ attended by the king at arms and two knights whom they had ſelected, proceeded to make inquiry as to who had behaved the beſt, which was done in this manner: they demanded from each knight who had aſſiſted at the combats, his opinion, who named perhaps three or four that had acquitted themſelves moſt gallantly; and from this number they at laſt fixed on one, to whom they gave the prize.

As the French were not leſs courteous and polite towards the ladies than they were valiant in arms, they frequently conſtituted them the judges of the tournament or juſt.

We may place under the article of Juſts, the ‘ pas d'armes;’ for theſe were ſingle combats, undertaken by one or more knights. They choſe a ſpot, moſt commonly on an open plain, which they propoſed to defend againſt all comers, as a paſs, or paſſage, which could not be traverſed, but on condition of combating him or them who guarded it. Thoſe who undertook ſuch an enterprize had their arms attached to pillars at the end of the liſts, with ſome plain ſhields of different colours, on which were marked the nature of the adventure, and the arms that were to be employed; ſo that he who came thither with the deſign of trying his ſkill, choſe his mode of combat by touching one of the ſhields on which it was ſpecified.

At the 'Pas de l'Arc Triomphal,' undertaken by Francis duke of Valois and Brittany, and nine other knights of name and renown in arms at Paris in the rue de St Antoine, in the year 1514, in honour of the ſolemnization of the marriage of Louis XII. there were five ſhields attached to this triumphal arch; the firſt of ſilver, the ſecond of gold, the third ſable, the fourth tawny, and the fifth grey. The firſt ſignified a combat of four courſes with lances: the ſecond, one courſe with the lance, and numberleſs ſtrokes with the ſword: the third, puſhing with the lance on foot, and ſtrokes with the ſword, with one hand: the fourth, throwing the lance, on foot, and fighting with the two-handed ſword: the fifth was for the attack and defence of a behourt or ſmall fortreſs.

Theſe various modes of combat were ſpecified at length in the challenges, and in the articles proclaimed by heralds at arms, on the part of the undertaker, in the provinces, and in different kingdoms. At thoſe parts where the ſhields were affixed, officers at arms were in waiting to collect and enregiſter the names of ſuch as touched the different ſhields, that they might be called out in regular rotation, according as they had touched them. It ſeems that this mode of juſting was more in faſhion during the later times. We have inſtances of them in the hiſtory of George Châtellain, in the Heroic Science by the ſieur de la Colombiere, and in his Theatre d'Honneur.

The tournament, or juſt, at which king Henry II. of France loſt his life, was alſo a pas d'armes; and as the challenge that was then proclaimed is not common, it will not be improper to inſert it here, as a curious piece for our hiſtory.

'De par le Roy. Après que par une longue guerre, cruelle et violente, les armes ont eſte exércees et exploitees en divers endroits avec effuſion de ſang humain, et autres pernicieux actes, que la guerre produit, et que Dieu par ſa ſainte grace, clemence, et bonte, a voulu donner repos à cette affligée Chretiente par une bonne et ſeure paix: il eſt plus que raiſonnable que chacun ſe mette en devoir avec toutes demonſtrations de joyes, plaiſirs, et allegreſſes de loüer et celebrer un ſi grand bien, qui a converty toutes aigreurs et inimitiez en douceurs et parfaites amitiez, par les eſtroites alliances de conſanguinite, qui ſe font moiennant les marriages accordez par le traite-

de ladite paix. C'eſt à ſçavoir, de très haut, très magnanime prince Philippe roy catholique des Eſpagnes, avec très haute et très excellente princeſſe madame Elizabeth fille aiſnée de très haut, très puiſſant et très magnanime prince Henry II. de ce nom très Chreſtien roy de France notre ſouverain ſeigneur : et auſſi de très haut et puiſſant prince Philibert Emanuël duc de Savoye, avec très haute et très excellente princeſſe madame Marguerite de France ducheſſe de Berry, ſœur unique dudit ſeigneur roy très Chreſtien noſtre ſouverain ſeigneur, lequel conſidérant que avec les occaſions qui s'offrent et preſentent, les armes maintenant eſloignées de toute cruauté et violence, ſe peuvent et doivent emploier avec plaiſir et utilité par ceux qui deſirent s'eſprouver et exerciter en tous vertueux et loüable faits et actes. Fait a ſçavoir a tous princes, ſeigneurs, gentils-hommes, chevaliers, et eſcuyers, ſuivant le fait des armes, et deſirans faire preuve de leurs perſonnes en icelles, pour inciter les jeunes a vertu, et recommander la proüeſſe des experimentez, qu'en la ville capitale de Paris le pas eſt ouvert par ſa majeſte très-Chreſtienne, et par les princes de Ferrare, Alfonſe d'Eſt, François de Lorraine duc de Guyſe, pair et grand chambellan de France, et Jacques de Savoye duc de Nemours, tous chevaliers de l'ordre, pour eſtre tenu contre tous venans deuëment qualifiez, à commencer au ſeiziéme jour de Juin prochain, et continuant juſques à l'accompliſſement et effet des empriſes, et articles qui s'enſuivent.

‘ La 1. Empriſe à cheval en lice, en double piéce 4 coups de lance et une pour la dame.

‘ La 2. Empriſe, à coups d'eſpée à cheval, un à un, ou deux a deux a la volonté des maiſtres du camp.

‘ La 3. Empriſe à pied, 3 coups de pique, et 6 d'eſpée en harnois d'homme de pied, fourniront leſdits tenans de lances de pareille longueur et groſſeur, d'eſpées et piques, aux choix des aſſaillans.

‘ Et ſi en courant aucun donne au cheval, il ſera mis hors des rancs, ſans plus y retourner, ſi le roy ne l'ordonne. Et a tout ce que deſſus ſeront ordonnez 4 maiſtres de camp, pour donner ordre a toutes choſes. Et celuy des aſſaillans qui aura le plus rompu, et le mieux fait, aura le prix dont la valeur ſera a la diſcretion des juges. Pareillement celuy qui aura le mieux combattu a l'eſpée et a la pique, aura auſſi le prix a la diſcretion deſdits

juges. Seront tenus les aſſaillans tant de ce royaume, comme eſtrangers, de venir toucher a l'un des eſcus qui ſeront pendus au perron, au bout de la lice, ſelon les deſſuſdites empriſes, ou toucher a pluſieurs d'eux, a leur choix, ou a tous, s'ils veulent: et la trouveront un officier d'armes, qui les recevra pour les enrooler, ſelon qu'ils voudront, et les eſcus qu'ils auront touchez. Seront auſſi tenus les aſſaillans d'apporter ou faire apporter par un gentil-homme, audit officier d'armes leur eſcu armoié de leurs armoiries, pour iceluy pendre audit perron trois jours durant, avant le commencement dudit tournoy: et en cas que dans le dit temps ils n'apportent ou envoient leurs eſcus, ils ne ſeront receues audit tournoy, ſans le conge des tenans. En ſigne de vérité, nous Henry par la grace de Dieu roy de France, avons ſigné ce préſent eſcrit de nôtre main. Fait à Paris le 22 May 1559. Signé Henry et du Thier.'

Montjoye king at arms in France, in the deſcription which he gives of the above pas d'armes, obſerves, that the fifth empriſe was, 'que les tenans ſe trouveroient dans un behourt, autrement dit baſtillon, deliberez ſe deffendre contre tous venans, avec harnois de guerre.' The behourt, therefore, was a ſort of baſtion, or caſtle made of wood or other materials, which the holders of the tournament undertook to defend againſt all who ſhould attack it. This military exerciſe was a dependence on tournaments, which word comprehended every kind of diſcipline that was practiſed to teach the nobility the art of war, and the behourt ſeems to have been invented to ſhew the manner of attacking, and taking places by ſcalado.

It is to the ſame uſe we muſt refer the games of 'L'Eſpinette,' which have been ſo frequent in the town of Lille in Flanders. They were a ſort of tournaments or juſts performed by the inhabitants, and in which the great lords made no difficulty of partaking. Theſe games and theſe tournaments were called by the general name of Bouhourd, as Buzelin remarks; and he adds, that ſome of them date their origin and inſtitution from the reign of St Louis.

The laſt of all theſe military exerciſes which I mentioned is that of 'the Quintain,' which is a half figure of a man placed on a poſt, and turning on a pivot, ſo that if the aſſailant does not with his lance hit him right on the middle of the breaſt, but on the extremities, he makes the figure

turn round, which, having a ſtaff or ſword in his right hand and a buckler on the other, ſtrikes the perſon who ſhall have given him an ill-aimed blow. This exerciſe ſeems to have been invented to teach thoſe who uſed the lance to point it well; for in tilts they were bound to give their thruſts between the four members, or they were blamed for their awkwardneſs.

The nobles were ſo paſſionately fond of tournaments that they choſe theſe occaſions to be knighted; and the greater number they had aſſiſted at, the greater was their reputation for valour and addreſs. John duke of Brabant, who loſt his life at a juſt in the year 1294, had been preſent at ſeventy tournaments, as well in France, England, Germany, as in other diſtant countries. So that when it was meant to praiſe a knight, it was ſaid that he had frequented tournaments.

Kings likewiſe greatly favoured gentlemen on theſe occaſions, and iſſued edicts declaring, that they could not be arreſted, nor their goods ſeized for debt, while they were at tournaments.

I ſhall cloſe this diſſertation by an ordinance on tournaments, taken from an ancient Ceremonial, and which is in the following words:

'C'eſt la maniere et l'ordonnance, et comment on ſoulloit faire anciennement les tournois.

'Item, le cry eſt tel. Or oyez, ſeigneurs chevaliers que je vous fais aſçavoir le grand digne pardon d'armes, et le grand digne tournoyement de par les François, et de par les Vermandoiciens et Beauvoiſins, de par les Poitiers *, et le Corbeiois, de par les Arthiſiens, et les Flamens, de par les Champenois et les Normans de par les Angevins, Poitevins, et Tourangeaux, de par les Bretons et Manceaux, de par les Rives † et Haſbegnons ‡, et de par tous autres chevaliers, qui accordez s'y ſont, et accorderent qui venir y vouldront, a eſtre aus hoſtieux accompagnez le dimanche après le St Remy, et les diſeurs prins Percheval de Varennes, et Witaſſe ſire de Campregny §, et conſeillers le ſire de Meullant, et le ſire de Hangeſt, et pour faire feneſtre le Lundy, pour tournoier le mardy, et de bateſiſt marthe ||, pour ce qu'il ne

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* Picards,—thoſe near to Pois.

† Riſſuarii,—Germans near the Rhine.

‡ Navarrois,—Haſbanienſes.

§ Campreny.

|| Sic. in MS.

auroit pas ſes chevaus, ne ſon harnois, il pourroit faire ceſſer le tournoy juſques à jeudy, qu'il eſt fin de la ſepmaine, et qui ne le voudroit attendre, et que l'on tournoyaſt, ce ſeroit un tournoyement ſans accord, et doivent le heraut crier, que l'on boute hors les bannieres, blaſons, ou houſſes d'eſcu, ou enſeignes d'armes, pourquoy on puiſſe tournoyer par accord.

' Item, doivent les diſeurs aller avec les herauts aux lieux, ou les ſeigneurs donnent à manger aux chevaliers, ou aux places ou ils pourroient trouver leſdits chevaliers, qu'ils viennent armez pour tournoier, et prendre les fois deſdits chevaliers, qui ne porteront eſpées, armures, ne baſtons affuſtiez n'enfonceront les armes, eſtaquetes aſſiſes par leſdits diſeurs, et tiendront le dit deſdits diſeurs.

' Item, la veille du tournoy doivent faire, s'il leur plaiſt, les chevaliers mettre les ſelles, ſur leurs chevaux, et de leurs eſcuiers, pincheres et chamfroy de leurs armes, afin qu'on puiſſe voir et connoiſtre l'eſtoffe et l'eſtat de chacun endroit ſoy, et ne peut avoir chaſcun chevalier que deux eſcuiers, s'il ne veut mentir tant ſoit grand ſire.

' Item, le jour du tournoy doivent les chevaliers aller aux meſſes, et faire faire les places à l'eſpée, et doivent les diſeurs aller voir la place ou le tournoy doit eſtre fait ſans advantage, et attacher les attaches en chaſcune route, es battailles il y doit avoir deux eſtachettes de part, et l'autre d'autre part, et la doivent les chevaliers eſſongniés chevaux et harnois tout aſſeurez, ſans qu'on leur puiſſe rien meffaire, s'ils ne veulent fiancier leur ſerment, et mentir leur foy.

' Item, doivent les diſeurs à l'heure qu'ils verront qu'il ſera temps, ſoit à jour de tournoier au matin, ou aux veſpres faire crier * Laiſſer: et lors ſe doivent toutes manieres de chevaliers et eſcuiers eux armer, et doivent les herauts aſſez-tôt après crier, Iſſez hors, ſeigneurs chevaliers, Iſſez hors. Et quand les chevaliers ſont hors, et chaſcun eſt retrait en ſa banniere, et en ſa route, ou en la route de ſon iſsüe, les diſeurs viennent par devant les battailles, et font paſſer ceux qui ont ordonné pour paſſer, pour faire le tournoy, à compte de chaſcun chevalier, toutfois audit des ſeigneurs ſous qui ils ſont.

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* L'Iſſez.

‘ Item, ce fait, les deux diſeurs ſe doivent mettre en place devant les battailles, et ſe doivent quitter la foy l'un à l'autre, et lors eſt le tournoy par accord, et ſe mettront les pays chaſcun au droit de ſon iſsüe, et doivent les herauts porter les bannieres, et des communes de chaſcun pays, ſelon ce que ils ont accouſtumé, et au cas qu'ils ne voudroient quitter leur foy l'un à l'autre, le tournoy ſeroit ſans accord.

‘ Item, ſi-toſt que le roy des heraux, et les autres heraux verront que le tournoy aura aſſes duré, et qu' il ſera ſur le tard, et temps de partir, ils doivent faire lever les eſtaches, et crier, Seigneurs chevaliers allez vous-en, vous ne pouvez huymets ne perdre, ne gagner, car les eſtachettes ſont levées.

‘ Item, quand les chevaliers ſeront revenus à leurs hoſtels, ils ſe deſarmeront, et laveront leurs viſages, et viendront manger devers les ſeigneurs qui donnent à manger, et tandis que les chevaliers ſeront aſſis au ſouper, ſeront prins leſdits diſeurs, avec le roy deſdits heraux, accompagnez de deux chevaliers, tels comme ils voudront prendre, pour faire l'enqueſte des bienfaiſans: et en l'enqueſte faiſant, les chevaliers que parleront, diront leurs advis, ils en nommeront trois ou quatre, ou tant qu' il leur plaira de bienfaiſans, et au derrain ils ſe rapporteront à un, lequel ils nommeront, et celuy emportera la voix, et ainſi ce fait de main en main à tous les chevaliers, et prennent morceaux de pain, et celuy qui plus en a, c'eſt celüy qui paſſe route; et ceux qui font l'enqueſte font ſerment qu'il la feront bien et loyaument.

‘ Item, et au cas que le tournoy ſe feroit ſans accord, la partie qui ſeroit deconfite, celui qui demourroit derrenier à cheval d'icelle partie deſconfite auroit le heaume comme le mieux deffendant, et l'autre partie celui qui ſeroit le mieux aſſaillant auroit l'eſpée.

‘ Item, le lendemain du tournoy s'il y a aucun deſtord de droit d'armes, tant de ceulx gagnez ou perdus, comme des chevaliers tirez à terre, depuis les eſtaches levees, et comme de tous autres droits, ſoient d'oſtel prins, d'oſtel armeures, ou autres choſes quelconques, il en eſt à l'ordonnance et juges des chevaliers.

‘ Item, on doit parler aux eſchevins, aux majeurs et governeurs des bonnes villes, ou le tournoy ſe doit faire, d'avoir prix raiſonnable de ce qui

eſt neceſſaire, c'eſt à ſavoir de foing, avoyne, nappes, toüailles, et de toute autre vaiſſelle és hoſtieux, chaſcun endroit ſoy, la ou il ſera logié, ou faire prix ſur les hoſtilaiges, lits, et vaiſſeaux, et au cheval foing et avoyne de hors: il eſt dit que ſe aucun chevalier n'a dequoy payer ſon hoſtelaige, qu'il faſſe courtoiſement fin et accord.'

Then follows a declaration, ſpecifying what armour the knights and eſquires ſhould arm themſelves with.

' Premierement, un harnois de jambes couvert de cuir couſu à eſguillettes au long de la jambe, juſques au genoüil, et deux attaches larges pour attacher à ſon barruier * et ſouleres valuës attachez aux gruës.

' Item, cuiſſes et poullains de cuir, armoiez de Varennes des armes au chevalier.

' Item, une chauſſe de mailles pardeſſus le harnois de jambes, attachée au brayer comme dit eſt, par deſſus les cuiſſes, et uns eſperons dorez, qui ſont attachez à une cordelette autour de la jambe, afin que la molette ne tourne deſſous le pied.

' Item, uns anciens, et unes eſpaulieres.

' Item, paus et manchez qui ſont attachez à la cuirie, et la cuirie à tout ſes eſgrappes ſur les eſpaules, et une ſeurſeliere ſur le pis † d'avant.

' Item, bracheres à tout les houſon, et le han eſcuçon de la banniere ſur le col couvert de cuir, avec les tonneres pour les attacher au braier à la cuirie: et ſur le bacinet une coiffe ‡ de mailles, et un bel orfroy pardevant le front qui veult.

' Item, bracellets attachez aux eſpaules à la cuirie.

' Item, un gaignepain pour mettre es mains du chevalier.

' Item, un heaume, et le tymbre, tel comme il voudra.

' Item, deux chaines à attachier à la poitrine de la cuirie, une pour l'eſpee, et l'autre pour le baſton en deux vigeres § pour le heaume attacher.

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* Brayer—breeches.

† Pectus.

‡ Al. Creſte.

§ In alio MS. viſieres.

‘ Item, le harnois de l’eſcuyer ſera tout pareil, excepte qu’ il ne doit avoir nulles chauces de maille, ne coiffette de maille ſur le bacinet, mais doit avoir un chappeau de Montauban, et ſi ne doit avoir nulles bracheres, et des autres choſes peut s’armer comme un chevalier, et ne doit point avoir de fautour à ſa ſelle.’

DISSERTATION VIII.

ON THE EXERCISE OF LA CHICANE, OR GAME OF BALL ON HORSEBACK.

I HAVE entered too deeply into the hiſtory of military exerciſes, not to ſay ſomething of La Chicane, which forms a part of them. It is a matter not unworthy the reſearches of the curious, as it is not generally underſtood, and diſcovers to us a kind of horſemanſhip, particularly practiſed by the modern Greeks, and which ſeems to have been unknown to the weſtern nations. It has not, however, been ſo peculiarly their own, that we may not, with ſome reaſon, ſay they have borrowed it from the Latins, ſince the name certainly came from them, and it is ſtill in uſe with us.

Dexterity in the management of a horſe, which in French is called 'Manege,' a word taken from the Italian, is one of the moſt uſeful exerciſes for thoſe who follow the military profeſſion. We conſequently find that the Greeks and Romans have practiſed it from the earlieſt times; and the Greeks, to bring this art to greater perfection, invented horſe-races. They not only found out the method of teaching them to move or wheel at the ſlighteſt ſignal of the rider, but they were deſirous that the cavalier ſhould acquire ſuch a firmneſs of ſeat, that however violent the plunges of a horſe might be, he could never be thrown to the ground, being, as it were, glued to the ſaddle *.

* Nicet. in Alex. Ang. l. 1, n. 3.

Theſe are the exerciſes called by Suetonius ‘ Exercitationes equorum campeſtres *,’ from being performed in the country. Cinnamus ſays, that the ancients invented a manly exerciſe for emperors only, their children, and the great lords of their courts, which was as follows. The young princes having divided themſelves into an equal number of diviſions and perſons, remained on horſeback, at the two extremities of a ſpacious plain: a leathern ball, of the ſize of an apple, being thrown between them, the two parties ſet off full gallop after it, each having a racquet in his hand ſimilar to thoſe made uſe of at this day at tennis, the invention of which does not ſeem ſo recent as Eſtienne Paſquier wiſhes to perſuade us †. The conteſt was, who ſhould ſtrike the ball beyond the bounds marked for it, ſo that thoſe who drove it the fartheſt remained conquerors. This author remarks, that it was a dangerous exerciſe, and that great perſonal riſks were run of being unhorſed, or grievouſly wounded, for thoſe engaged therein were forced to gallop after the ball without any regularity; and, to ſtrike it with their racquets, they were obliged to bend their bodies on each ſide of the horſe almoſt to the ground. They often ran againſt, and reciprocally wounded each other, and, from the ſhocks of their encounters on full gallop, were thrown to the ground. Anna Comnena writes, that when her father Alexis was amuſing himſelf at this game, Tattice, one of thoſe who were playing with him, was run away with by his horſe againſt the emperor, and wounded him ſo ſeverely on the knee and foot, that he felt the conſequences the remainder of his life ‡. Cinnamus writes, in his fourth book, that the emperor Manuel, grandſon to Alexis, exerciſing himſelf at this game, fell from his horſe, and was wounded ſo ſeverely on the thigh and hand that his life was deſpaired of.

The game of ‘ La Chole,’ (foot-ball) which is ſtill in uſe among the peaſantry of the provinces, has ſome connection with the above-mentioned exerciſe, excepting, indeed, that it is performed by perſons on foot. On certain ſolemn days of the year, and moſt commonly on the feſtivals of the

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* Suet. in Aug. c. 83.

† Paſquier en ſes Recher. de France, l. 4. c. 15.

‡ Anna Comn. l. 9. p. 259.

patron ſaints of the villages, the peaſants invite their neighbours to this game. When aſſembled, they throw a large leathern ball on the public road, half way between two villages, when all kick it with their feet as hard as poſſible, and whichever party kick it into their village, they bear away the victory, and the prize that has been offered.

But to return to the game of ball on horſeback, which the Greeks call 'Tzycaniſterium,' it ſeems that they are indebted to the French for its origin, and that at the firſt it was nothing more than what is now practiſed in Languedoc, and called the game of La Chicane, and in other provinces the game of Mall, except that in Languedoc this game is played in the open country and on the high roads, where they drive with a ſmall mallet, fixed at the end of a ſtick, of proportioned length, a ball of boxwood. In other parts, this game was played in long alleys planted with trees, and the ſides incloſed with planks of wood.

With regard to the derivation of the word 'Chicane,' as all conjectures on ſimilar ſubjects are for the moſt part doubtful, I know not whether I ought to attempt it. I dare not advance that it comes from the engliſh word 'Chicken;' ſo that 'Chicaner' would ſeem to be derived from the imitation of young poultry, who are accuſtomed to run after each other, to ſnatch the morſels out of their beaks, in like manner as the Greeks gallop after their antagoniſts, to ſeize and drive away the ball from them.

However this may be, I think it cannot be doubted that the word 'Chicane,' now in uſe to ſignify the tricks of ſuitors in courts of juſtice, and which the old french practioners of the law called 'Barres,' has been taken from this exerciſe, each party endeavouring, by affected delays, and uſeleſs proceedings, to embarraſs and hurt his opponent, and, as we vulgarly ſay, boxing the ball from one to the other. This is what thoſe who play at this game of chicane do, and, by the mutual embarraſſments they cauſe, make it laſt the longer.

DISSERTATION IX.

ON KNIGHTS-BANNERETS.

NOBILITY of birth has been ever held in particular eſteem by all the ſtates of the univerſe excepting the Turks and Chineſe, by whom it is not conſidered. They refer every thing to virtue and perſonal qualities, without regarding blood or birth, according to the expreſſions of an ambaſſador of the emperor Ferdinard I.* But France has been the kingdom in the world where the nobles have enjoyed the greateſt advantages, forming the firſt order in the ſtate: the governments of provinces and towns are intruſted ſolely to their care; and it has always been ſuppoſed that the ſtrength of the realm reſided in their perſons, from the generoſity natural to them, and the eminent courage that was, as it were, attached to them.

However true it may be that the character of nobility is uniform, and that it is not improperly ſaid, that one gentleman is not more a gentleman than another, yet there have always been various degrees among the nobles, which have conſtituted the different orders among them. Some have been raiſed higher than others, from dignities conferred by the prince, others by the prerogatives which their rank and title of chevaliers gave them; ſo that we obſerve there have been in France three degrees, and three orders of nobility. The firſt, is that of Barons, which comprehended every

* Buſbeq. in itiner. C. P.

gentleman raiſed to that dignity, on account of the title granted him by his ſovereign, or from his fiefs, by virtue of which he had a right to bear a banner in the armies of the king, to conduct thither his vaſſals, and to have a particular war-cry. It is for this reaſon they are commonly known under the name of bannerets, and often under the general one of barons *. The ſecond order was that of Bachelors, or ſimple knights, and the third that of Eſquires.

The nobility of Béarn were in a ſimilar manner divided into barons, *cavers* or knights, and *dommagers* or damoiſeaux, which are thoſe we call eſquires. The kingdom of Arragon had alſo three orders of nobility; the firſt was that of 'Ricos Hombres,' the ſecond that of 'Cavalleros,' and the third the 'Infançons,' which are damoiſeaux or eſquires. The Ricos Hombres, or the rich men, were the principal barons of the kingdom: they had a ſhare in the government of the country, and enjoyed the great moveable fiefs of the crown. They were bound by theſe fiefs to ſerve the prince in his wars, and were obliged to lead thither their vaſſals under their banners, whence they were called 'Ricos hombres de Senêra;' that is to ſay, Bannerets; and becauſe theſe rich men led their vaſſals to war under their banners, and they were uſually inveſted with the quality of knighthood, it has thence occurred, that theſe barons have moſt commonly been known under the title of 'Knights-bannerets.'

Other knights, who had not this prerogative, were vulgarly called 'Bachelors,' that is to ſay, 'Bas-Chevaliers,' from being of the ſecond order, and inferior in dignity to the barons. So that theſe knights reſembled the counts of the firſt, ſecond, and third order, in the court of the roman emperors. But as my deſign at preſent is to ſpeak only of knights bannerets, having ſo pledged myſelf in my obſervations on the hiſtory of the lord de Joinville, I ſhall not now ſay any thing of knights-bachelors, nor of this ſecond order of nobility.

I have already obſerved, that the term 'Banneret' was generally applied to the firſt order of nobility, and that it comprehended gentlemen of ſuperior rank, who had a right to bear a banner in the armies of their prince. The

* P. Divæus, l. 7. Rer Brabant. p. 85.

greater number of authors have uſed it in this ſenſe. Rigord often employs it in ſpeaking of the lords made priſoners by Philippes Auguſte at the battle of Bovines. On the other hand, we often ſee knights-bannerets mentioned by other writers under the ſimple term of barons. The laws of Simon count de Montfort, for the inhabitants of Alby, Carcaſſone, Beſiers and Razez, drawn up in the year 1212, ſpecially comprehend knights-bannerets under this name, diſtinguiſhing them from ſimple knights, who are noticed as bachelors. We muſt, however, acknowledge, that there was a difference between the barons and bannerets. For thoſe who were ſtyled barons poſſeſſed great fiefs, held under the crown, or from ſome ſovereign prince; but becauſe there were no barons who had not the right to bear a banner in the armies, from the great lordſhips or manors they poſſeſſed, which had ſeveral vaſſals, it has happened that this title has been indiſcriminately given to all bannerets. Du Tillet ſays, that the count de Maval diſputed with the lord de Couëquen, in Brittany, his title of baron, maintaining that he was only a banneret from having raiſed his banner, for which he was laughed at, and called the Knight of the Square Banner.

To obtain the dignity of a banneret, it was not ſufficient to be powerful in fiefs and vaſſals: it was neceſſary to be a gentleman of name, and bearing arms. This laſt qualification was eſſential; and as I have not obſerved any writer explain the force of theſe words, I propoſe to deliver my ſentiments on them in the ſucceeding diſſertation.

The old Ceremonial thus deſcribes the form and manner of making bannerets:

‘ Comme un bachelier peut lever banniere, et devenir banneret.

‘ Quant un bacheler a grandement * ſervi et ſuivy la guerre, et que il a aſſez terre, et qu'il puiſſe avoir gentilſhommes †, ſes hommes, et pour accompagner ſa banniere, il peut licitement lever banniere, et non autrement. Car nul homme ne doit porter, ne lever banniere en bataille, s'il n'a du moins cinquante hommes d'armes, tous ſes hommes et les archiers et arbaleſtriers qui y appartiennent. Et s'il les a, il doit à la premiere

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* In another copy, Longuement.

† ————, Tant comme il puiſſe tenir 50 gentilſhommes.

battaille, ou il ſe trouvera, apporter un pennon de ſes armes, et doit venir au conneſtable, ou aux mareſchaux, ou à celui qui ſera lieutenant de l'oſt, pour le prince requerir qu'il porte banniere *, et s'il lui octroient, doit ſommer les heraux pour teſmoignage †, et doivent couper la queüe du pennon, et alors le doit porter et lever avant les autres bannieres, au deſſoubs des autres barons.'

There is in this ſame Ceremonial another chapter reſpecting the banneret, and in theſe terms :

' Comme ſe doit maintenir un banneret en bataille.

' Le banneret doit avoir cinquante lances, et les gens de trait qui y appartiennent: c'eſt a ſavoir les xxv pour combattre, et les autres xxv pour lui ‡, et ſa banniere garder. Et doit eſtre ſa banniere deſſoubs des barons. Et § s'il y a autres bannieres, ils doivent mettre leurs bannieres à l'onneur, chacun ſelon ſon endroit, et pareillement tout homme qui porte banniere.'

I have inſerted the exact words from the Ceremonial, to avoid dividing them in the continuation of this diſſertation, as well as to examine and compare them with thoſe authors who have written on the ſubject of bannerets. To begin with the preliminary conditions required for obtaining this dignity, we obſerve that the candidate for the honour of banneret muſt be a knight, and one who has had frequent opportunities of following the wars. It is certain that thoſe who wiſhed to diſplay their banner muſt have been knights; and hiſtory affords us an infinity of examples of thoſe who in times of war were deſirous ſo to do, and were not knights, but cauſed themſelves to be ſo created before they diſplayed their banner. The ſons of kings were not diſpenſed from this law, as we ſee in Froiſſart, who, ſpeaking of a battle about to take place between the Engliſh and Scots, ſays, ' Adoncques fiſt le comte de Douglas ſon fils chevalier, nomme meſſire Jacques, et lui fiſt lever banniere : et la fiſt-il deux chevaliers des fils du roy d'Eſcoſſe, meſſire

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* Soit banneret.

† Faire ſonner les trompettes pour temoigner.

‡ Garder ſon corps et ſa banniere.

§ Et s'il y a autres bannieres en honneur ſelon qu'ils ſont nobles, et pareillement tous hommes qui portent banniere.

Robert et meſſire David, et tous deux leverent banniere,' Froiſſart, vol. 2. chap. 10.

Another condition required from the candidate for the honour of banneret, and the moſt eſſential, was, that he ſhould have large landed poſſeſſions, and a ſufficient number of vaſſals to accompany his banner. It was for this reaſon that the Spaniards called bannerets 'Ricos hombres,' and the French 'The rich men,' as I have before ſhewn. On the contrary, ſimple knights were ſtyled 'pauvres hommes,' in the roll of knights who followed St Louis in his expedition to Tunis. 'Et eſt à ſavoir qu'il doit paſſer à chaſcun banneret un cheval, et li chevaux emporte le garçon qui le garde, et doit paſſer le banneret lui ſixieme de perſonne, et le pauvre homme ſoi tiers.'

With regard to the number of vaſſals, the Ceremonial orders, that a banneret ſhould have under his command fifty men at arms, beſides the archers and croſs-bows attached to them; that is to ſay, one hundred and fifty horſe; for Froiſſart tells us, that twenty thouſand men at arms made ſixty thouſand effective men in battle, each man at arms having two men on horſeback as his followers.

Olivier de la Marche writes, that, according to ancient cuſtoms, it was neceſſary that the pennon of him who pretended to ſuch rank ſhould be attended by twenty-five men at the leaſt. But the accounts of the treaſurers of the king's war-expenſes ſhew us the contrary, and make it appear that there were often knights-bannerets who had a much ſmaller number of followers, ſome of whom were bachelors, other eſquires. Another Ceremonial directs, that a knight or ſquire who wiſhes to be made a banneret, 'ſoit accompagné au moins de quatre ou cinq nobles hommes, et continuellement de douze ou ſeize chevaux.'

It is true that in general when knights-banneret went to attend their prince in his wars, as the greater number were powerful lords, they had a more numerous attendance of vaſſals, among whom were knights, who in like manner, were followed by their vaſſals, which formed, all together, a very handſome company under the command of the banneret.

A banneret was made by the prince, or by the lieutenant-general of the army, in this manner: the knight who was ſufficiently rich in lands, and in

a numerous vaſſalage, to ſupport the ſtate and dignity of a banneret, took an opportunity of a battle being about to be fought, to preſent himſelf before the prince, or chief of the army, having in his hand a lance, round which was rolled a pennon of his emblazoned arms, and then made his requeſt perſonally, or by means of a herald, to be created a banneret, in conſequence of the nobility of his birth, and the ſervices which his anceſtors had done the ſtate, conſidering alſo that he had a ſufficiency of vaſſals to ſupport its dignity. Then the prince, or chief of the army, unrolling the pennon, cut off the end, and made it ſquare, and, on giving it back to the knight, ſaid himſelf, or cauſed his herald to ſay the following, or ſuch like words: 'Reçevez l'honneur que voſtre prince vous fait aujourd'hui, ſoiez bon chevalier, et conduiſez voſtre banniere à l'honneur de voſtre lignage.'

The pennon or pennonceau was the flag of the knight-bachelor, under which he conducted his vaſſals. The Ceremonial, at the chapter 'de l'ordonnance du roy quand il va en armes,' declares it in expreſs words, 'Après les pages viennent les trompettes, après les trompettes viennent les pennons des bacheliers, après les pennons viennent les bannieres des derrains bannerets.'

And at the part where it deſcribes the ceremonies attendant on obſequies, 'La quatrieme offrande doit eſtre d'un cheval couvert du trepaſſé, et ſera monté deſſus un gentilhomme, ou amy du trepaſſé, qui portera ſa banniere s'il eſt banneret, ou s'il eſt bachelier ſon pennon.'

Sovereign princes had both banner and pennon; and with regard to the king of France, his banner was under the charge of the great chamberlain of the crown, and his pennon under the care of the firſt gentleman-carver.

Froiſſart makes mention ſomewhere in his chronicles of the pennon of the king of France; and the reaſon why great lords had both banner and pennon is, becauſe they had a number of vaſſals, the bannerets in the wars ranging themſelves under the banners, and the bachelors who held fiefs directly from them under their pennon. The pennon differed from the banner, which was ſquare, by having a tail like to thoſe ſtreamers called by the Latins 'Dragons:' it was this tail that was cut off when they were created bannerets.

Froiſſart, Monſtrelet, Olivier de la Marche and other authors obſerve, that bannerets were made on the occaſions of battles or other military enterprizes; but they were ſometimes created on the occaſion of ſolemn feaſts and tournaments.

Jacques Valere, in his treatiſe 'd'armes de nobleſſe,' writes, 'S'il eſt roy, ou prince qui ſoit au dit tournoy, et s'il luy plaiſt peuſt faire de grace chevaliers, et d'un chevalier un banneret, pour alors prendre banniere.'

And further on, 'Celui qui lieve banniere en tournoy, ou en bataille, doit au roy d'armes, ou heraux de la Marche, dix livres pariſis.'

This quality of banneret in the perſon of a knight made him known under the name 'de banniere,' as may be collected from various authors, and particularly from the lord de Joinville, when he ſays that he accompanied king Louis, 'lui troiſieme de banniere;' that is to ſay, with two other knights bearing banners.

The families of bannerets, as a mark of their prerogatives and nobility, were called 'hoſtel noble et banniere;' and this title is given to the houſe of Saveuſes in Picardy, in an ancient edict of the parliament of Paris.

I add to the above remarks, that in an ordinance of Charles VIII. of the year 1495, concerning the rights of 'geolage,' the wife of a banneret is therein ſtyled 'une dame bannerete.'

This title of 'de baniere' was alſo applied to the land of the knight banneret, which was ſo called when a number of fiefs were dependant on it, and conſequently a ſufficiency of vaſſals, to enable the lord who poſſeſſed it to raiſe his banner, which was ſo well-known a truth that the title of banneret paſſed to all who enjoyed this landed property even before they were inveſted with the honour of knighthood.

He, therefore, who was in poſſeſſion of a banner-land; that is to ſay, of an eſtate which had a proper number of vaſſals for the attendance on a banneret, and had been before held by bannerets, took the opportunity of a battle to diſplay, unfurl, raiſe, and make public his banner; for ſuch are the different expreſſions made uſe of by various authors on this ſubject. There was, however, a difference between 'relever banniere' and 'entrer en banniere;' for he 'entroit en banniere,' who had the dignity of banneret

given him by the prince on account of one or more eſtates he was poſſeſſed of, that furniſhed him with a ſufficiency of vaſſals: and he ‘ levoit banniere,’ or ‘ relevoit banniere,’ who raiſed and diſplayed the banner of land that had fallen to him by right of ſucceſſion, or who had got himſelf created banneret on account of an eſtate that had a title of banniere, and of which he was become poſſeſſor. We learn this diſtinction from Olivier de la Marche.

I find that the old Ceremonial has properly hence inferred that the banniere is the mark of inveſtiture of the banneret, when it ſays, that the duke receives his inveſtiture from his coronet, the marquis from the ruby which he wears on his middle finger, the viſcount from the golden wand, and barons and bannerets from the banner. Although what it ſays reſpecting the marquis and other dignities may be ſubject for criticiſm, it is at leaſt certain that the banneret was inveſted with his rank by virtue of his banner; for, as the banner was a ſort of ſtandard under which the vaſſals ranged themſelves to march to the wars of the prince, it is certain that all inveſtitures ariſing from lands, of whatever quality they may be, but which give a right of leading vaſſals to the wars, are made by the banner.

We often read in authors, conformable to what was the law of the Saxons, that in Germany, duchies and other great fiefs were by the emperors conferred by the banner. The counts of Goritia received their inveſtiture from the doges of Venice by a ſtandard of red taffeta; and the dauphins of Vienne by a delphinale ſword, and by the banner of St George. I omit all other inſtances that may be quoted from authors who have made ſimilar obſervations. What I have ſaid is ſufficient to prove, that all the grand fiefs are banner-fiefs, and that the banner was the mark of inveſtiture of theſe ſort of fiefs.

With regard to the ſmaller fiefs, which were decorated with the title of banner, they had particular privileges. In the duchy of Brittany they had a right of holding courts of juſtice on all crimes, excepting treaſon againſt the prince, and to erect a four pillar gallows. The poſſeſſors might bear their arms emblazoned ‘ en banniere,’ that is to ſay, on a ſquare eſcutcheon. In Dauphiny, the bannerets have alſo ſimilar privileges throughout the extent of their lordſhips, the right of inſpection over the high roads, of having a

procurator-fiſcal, of inheriting all confiſcations for hereſy, and other prerogatives, which are mentioned by ſome of the lawyers of thoſe countries.

Bannerets had likewiſe the privilege of a war-cry, called ‘ Cry d'armes,’ that particularly attached to them, to the excluſion of all knights-bachelors, from having the right of leading their vaſſals to war, and from being chiefs of a large body of men at arms.

In regard to the emblazoning arms ‘ en banniere,’ that was one of the peculiar privileges of the bannerets of the duchy of Brittany, and of ſome other provinces, ſuch as Poitou, the Coûtume of which has theſe words: ‘ Que tout ſeigneur qui a comté, vicomté, ou baronnie, (it clearly points to bannerets by this expreſſion) peut en guerre, ou armoiries, porter ſes armes en quarré, ce que ne peut le ſeigneur Chaſtellain, lequel les peut ſeulement porter en forme d'eſcuſſon.’

Knights-bannerets, when they went to the wars, received from the king double the pay of knights-bachelors. The uſual pay of bannerets was twenty ſols tournois a day; that of knights-bachelors, and eſquires banneret, ten ſols each: that of ſimple eſquires five ſols; of gentlemen on foot two ſols; of ſergeants on foot twelve deniers, and of croſs-bows fifteen deniers. Sometimes the king augmented this pay, which was then called ‘ the great pay;’ but he then declared, that he did not intend it ſhould be underſtood as wages, but as a ſort of loan, as was done in the year 1315, or as a benefaction, as it is thus announced at the commencement of the accounts of John du Cange, in the year 1340.

DISSERTATION X.

ON GENTLEMEN OF NAME, AND BEARING ARMS.

It would ſeem that in the ſtate and condition of nobility there was not any particular prerogative that ſhould exalt one more than another, but that it reſembles the ingenuity of lawyers, which receives neither more nor leſs of addition.

There is, however, reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the quality of 'Gentilhomme de nom et d'armes,' was ſomething more elevated, and of a much ſuperior rank than that of the ſimple gentleman, ſince, whenever there was occaſion to ſelect gentlemen of high birth, and whoſe genealogy it was neceſſary to inquire into, ſuch as reſpecting the orders of chivalry, it was expected they ſhould be inveſted with the above title *.

Philip duke of Burgundy, in his ſtatutes for the order of the Golden Fleece, ordains, that the thirty-ſix knights of that order ſhall be gentlemen of name, and bearing arms, without reproach †. When king Louis XI. inſtituted the order of St Michael in France, he ſaid, 'We command that this order do conſiſt of thirty-ſix knights, gentlemen of name and arms, without reproach, of whom we ourſelf ſhall be one, the chief and ſovereign,' &c. King Henry III. of France ordains, in the 15th article of the ſtatutes

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* Locrius in Chron Belg. an. 1431.

† Miræus in Diplom. Belg. l. 1. 6. 98. art. 1.

for the order of the Holy Ghoſt, that all the knights of it ſhall be ‘ gentlemen of name, and bearing arms for three generations at the leaſt.’ The ordinance of Blois declares, ‘ That no one ſhall be inveſted with the rank of bailiff or ſeneſchal at the enſuing ſtates-general, unleſs he be a gentleman of name, and bearing arms.’

From theſe declarations I conclude, that the gentlemen of ‘ nom et d’armes’ were of ſuperior rank to the common; for it would be uſeleſs to require this qualification, if it were not more eminent than ſimple nobility. But as there are various opinions on this ſubject, it will be proper that I ſhould diſcuſs them all, before I enter farther thereon.

John Scohier, in his treatiſe on the ſtate, and bearing of arms *, ſuppoſes thoſe to be gentlemen of name and of arms who have the name of a province, town, village, caſtle, lordſhip, or noble fief, and who bear particular arms, although they may not be the owners of the above places; and on this ſubject he puts ſeveral queſtions. But I cannot ſee what is the prerogative or eminence of this ſort of nobility over the others; for how many noble families exiſt who do not bear the name of any particular place, and yet are daily admitted into the orders of knighthood, and inveſted with great offices, to obtain which this qualification muſt be firſt exemplified? To bear the name of a place does not exalt the perſon of a noble: a duke, or a count, who ſhall be deſcended from thoſe who have anciently been ennobled, but who have never borne the name of a place, will not be denied admittance into any order of knighthood, and will be eſteemed a true gentleman.

Others imagine, that gentlemen of name and arms † are thus called, not from their armorial bearings, but from their profeſſion of arms, to diſtinguiſh them from ‘ des chevaliers en loys,’ who are lawyers, whom the prince honours with the title of knights, but who do not intermeddle in wars. Froiſſart, Monſtrelet, d’Argentré, and other authors, ſpeak of theſe knights. But who can ſuppoſe that it was ever in the thoughts of the founders of military orders of knighthood, or of kings who have made laws for them,

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* Scohier, c. 17.

† Jean Chenu en ſon livre des Offices, tit. 40. c. 39.

to reſtrain their nobility to the ſword alone? Beſides, why do they qualify ſuch gentlemen with the title 'of name and arms,' as if it added any thing to their nobleneſs of birth?

There are ſome who believe that gentlemen of name and arms are thoſe who bear the arms appertaining to their family-name, without however this qualification placing them above thoſe who are ſtyled ſimply gentlemen: this addition of name and arms being uſed ſolely to mark a nobility of ancient date, and without reproach, inſomuch that among the proofs which a gentleman produces to juſtify his claim to nobility, there is one by which he proves, that the ſirname and arms he bears have been borne by his father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather. This ſeems to have been the opinion of Andrew du Cheſne, in his hiſtory of the houſe of du Pleſſis, when, ſpeaking of the cardinal de Richelieu, he ſays, 'Il etoit auſſi chef des armes de ſa maiſon, compoſées d'un eſcu d'argent à 3 chevrons de gueulles, leſquelles ſes deſcendans out toujours portées, et retenues juſques à preſent, avec le même ſurnom de du Pleſſis. Deſorte qu' à juſte titre il doit participer à la gloire, et à la renommée de ceux qui ont eſté reconnus de toute antiquité pour gentilſhommes de nom et d'armes.'

And in his hiſtory of the houſe of Bethune, he ſays, 'les armes ou armoiries ſont ſi propres, et ſi eſſentielles aux nobles, qu'il n'y a qu'eux qui puiſſent juſtement en porter; d'ou vient que pour exprimer la vraie nobleſſe, l'on dit ordinairement qu'il eſt gentilhomme de nom et d'armes.'

Although this opinion may apparently have ſome foundation, I muſt be excuſed for not agreeing to it, without meaning to offend ſo judicious a writer, or thoſe who have followed him. I maintain, that it was more probable that thoſe were called gentlemen of name and arms who could prove their nobility, not only by ſhewing that their fathers and grandfathers had always been noble, that they had been reputed gentlemen, and that the name and arms they bore had been borne by their anceſtors, which is the uſual form of proving ſimple nobility, but likewiſe by the four quarters of their pedigree. This was done by ſhewing that their paternal and maternal anceſtors were noble, as far back as was required, and was proved by the arms on the pedigrees of each branch; ſo that armorial bearings being the diſtinctive marks of nobility, ſince they belong ſolely to the nobles, if any one can

prove by his pedigree, that his paternal and maternal anceſtors have had armorial bearings, it follows, that ſuch anceſtors muſt have been noble, and that he is the iſſue of noble parentage by four different houſes, or what we call quarterings.

To explain myſelf more fully, I ſay, that it is neceſſary for him who calls himſelf a gentleman of name and arms, to prove his deſcent from paternal and maternal anceſtors in four degrees; and remounting to his great-grandfather to prove his nobility, and that he is the head of the family, and that his iſſue is noble, and by ſhewing that he bears the ſame name with his anceſtors who were noble, it follows that he who is deſcended from them is likewiſe noble: and in order that he may freely ſay he is noble by armorial bearings, it is neceſſary for him to prove his maternal anceſtors to have been noble, which he may do by ſhewing that they had borne armorial enſigns. It may then be lawful for him to place on his tomb, and wherever elſe he may pleaſe, beſide his own arms, thoſe of anceſtors on each ſide from whom he is deſcended, and take on him the qualification of a gentleman of name and arms.

This ſeems to have been explained by René king of Sicily, in the ſtatutes of the order of the Creſcent *, which he inſtituted the 11th day of Auguſt 1448, when he declares, ‘ que nul ne pourra eſtre reçeu, ne porter le dit ordre, ſinon qu'il ſoit ou prince, marquis, comte, vicomte, ou iſſu d'ancienne chevalerie, et gentilhomme de ſes quatre lignes, et que ſa perſonne ſoit ſans vilain cas, et ſans reproche,'—terms that are ſynonimous, and have the ſame force as thoſe inſerted in the ſtatutes of other military orders, and in the edicts of our kings before quoted, namely, ‘ que nul ne ſera admis auſdits ordres, s'il n'eſt gentilhomme de nom et d'armes ſans reproche.'

The ſtatutes of the Garter ſtill more clearly expreſs it, in the following words: ‘ Item, eſt accordé que nul ne ſera eſleu compagnon dudit ordre, s'il n'eſt gentilhomme de ſang, et chevalier ſans reproche.' After theſe words, are the following, by way of explanation: ‘ Et quant à la declaration d'un gentilhomme de ſang, il eſt declaré et determiné qu'il ſera extrait de trois deſcentes de nobleſſes, à ſçavoir de nom et d'armes tant du coſté du pere que

* La Colomb. to. 1. du Theat. d'Honn. c. 7.

de la mere.' Fr. Modius ſpeaks of thoſe who might perform at tournaments, and deſcribes this nobility as of name and arms *.

It has not therefore been without reaſon, that kings and founders of military orders would not admit as their companions, or appoint to the higher offices of the ſtate, any but ſuch as had clear titles to nobility, who were reproachleſs, either in what perſonally concerned them or in regard to their families: in one word, they only admitted ſuch as were gentlemen of name and arms. France has always held its nobility in ſuch high eſteem that gentlemen were not permitted to ally themſelves in marriage otherwiſe than with noble families, under pain of forfeiting the principal prerogatives of nobility, and of being marked in ſome manner with infamy. This principle was ſo ſtrong at the commencement of the monarchy that the Franks would not admit the children of king Theodorick into the kingdom of Auſtraſia, 'quia erant materno latere minus nobiles †.' But the chief reaſon for this interdiction of vulgar alliances to gentlemen was, that they might not debaſe, by this means, the glory and luſtre of their families.

It has thence happened, that ſuch gentlemen as had *forligné* (degenerated), to uſe the word of Monſtrelet and George Chaſtellain,—that is to ſay, thoſe who had married into a plebeian family, although they preſerved their titles, and in right thereof were exempted from the tailles and other taxes to which plebeians are ſubjected,—loſt all pretence of aſpiring to high dignities, or of being admitted to tournaments, or to other aſſemblies of knights, although their children might ſucceed to the order of knighthood.

Notwithſtanding theſe marriages were allowed by the canon laws, the civil and political laws, or rather the uſages introduced by the common aſſent of the nobility, have eſtabliſhed penalties to prevent their taking place. Among the Viſigoths, a noble damſel who ſhould miſ-ally herſelf loſt the inheritance ſhe had, or would have received, from her father, and was excluded from that of her brothers and ſiſters. For this reaſon, thoſe barons who had the wardſhip of daughters of gentlemen were prohibited from marrying them except to perſons of noble birth, and could

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* Fr. Modius, to. 2. de Haſtiludio, l. 1. fol. 9 verſo.

† Aimon, l. 4. c. 1.

not debaſe them by marriage without incurring the penalty ordained by the ſtatutes *.

From the foregoing obſervations, it may be truly ſaid, that in France thoſe only have been reputed real gentlemen who were gentlemen of name and arms; that is to ſay, noble from four branches of their pedigree.

It is this nobility that father St Julien, in his paradoxical miſcellanies, qualifies, properly ſpeaking, nobility of name and arms, which he maintains to be a rank of the higheſt ſort; for ſuch a gentleman, though poor, is not leſs a gentleman than the moſt opulent lord, like to a king who is not leſs a king although another may be richer, the extent of country he governs making him neither more nor leſs a ſovereign †. This was the idea of king Eumenes, mentioned by Plutarch, who having but one ſingle caſtle under his dominion, yet when he was about to capitulate with Antigonus king of Aſia, who wanted to claim a ſuperiority over him, replied, that he would never acknowledge him for his ſuperior ſo long as he ſhould hold a ſword in his hand.

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* Matt. Paris, an. 1215. page 271.

† St Jul. en ſes Meſl. Hiſt. pp. 632, 640.

DISSERTATION XI.

ON THE CRY D'ARMES, OR WAR-CRY.

The particular uſages, and municipal laws, which have aſſigned to the elders the prerogative of bearing the full arms of the families whence they ſprung, have almoſt wholly given them, at the ſame time, the war-cry, as a dependance on the armorial ſhield, with which it is commonly placed on tombs and other places, as well as in their pedigrees and emblazonings, drawn up by heralds. Many have been ignorant of the origin, uſage, and ſignification of the war-cry, and thoſe who have touched on the ſubject have not written correctly about it: this has induced me to make reſearches on the war-cry, and to detail in this place what books have taught me.

The war-cry was nothing elſe than a ſhout compoſed of two or three words, pronounced at the beginning, or during the heat of a combat, by a chieftain, or by all the ſoldiers together, as occaſions offered or required; which war-cry was appropriated to the general of the army, or to the leader of each ſeparate troop.

As the noiſe which thunder makes in the clouds at the moment when the lightening darts its forks to the earth, adds to the aſtoniſhment which this meteor excites in the minds of men, juſt ſo do the ſhouts of ſoldiers, when charging the enemy, confound them; for this confuſed noiſe of ſhouts and joy augments the alarm of the enemy, who conſider it as an undoubted proof of courage.

Theſe cries were not always confuſed ſounds, but were often clearly articulated, aud conſiſted in the pronunciation of ſome words, by which the ſoldiers excited each to acts of valour and gallantry. The Germans and Gauls were accuſtomed, before battle, to ſtrengthen their courage by certain ſongs, or rather rude noiſes, called in their tongue ‘ Barditus,’ from the name of their prieſts, the bards, who, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, book the fifteenth, ſung verſes, accompanied by their harp, in praiſe of the virtuous actions of their kings and anceſtors.

This cuſtom, of ſinging the praiſes of great men before the combat, was preſerved under our monarchs, when thoſe ſongs, known under the name of ‘ Chanſons de Roland,’ were invented, and ſo called, from their extolling the gallant acts of this fabulous Roland, and the ancient french knights errant.

Such then has been the uſage of theſe war-cries, compoſed of a few words, which excited the ſoldiers to valour, and gallantly to fall on their enemies. Although theſe cries were, for the moſt part, different in words, they were, nevertheleſs, all conceived in terms of invocation to the Divinity. In conſequence of this laudable cuſtom, kings and princes have invented cries of battle, which have been peculiar to them and the ſoldiers of their armies, to be uttered at the beginning, or in the midſt of an engagement; whence they are called ‘ voces fidei’ by Roderick archbiſhop of Toledo, in his hiſtory of ſpaniſh affairs, meaning cries of confidence in the aſſiſtance of God. If other cries have been uſed, they have taken their origin from ſome fortunate deeds of arms, and on that account choſen by the particular lords who had been engaged in them.

The French, when they made their firſt conqueſts in the holy land, had for their general cry theſe words, ‘ Adjuva Deus * !’ or, ‘ Eia Deus adjuva nos † !’ It was from the war-cries of our ancient french knights, and the firſt conquerors of the holy land, that the dukes of Normandy have formed their cry, ‘ Diex aie! Dame Diex aie!’ by which they called on God for aſſiſtance, theſe words ſignifying ‘ Domine Deus adjuva.’ Inſtead of this

* Fulch.

† Geſta Franc. expug. Hier. l. 1. c. 26. 43.

meaning, others have imagined they ſignified ‘ Noſtre Dame, Dieu aide,’ from ‘ Dame,’ in this place, meaning lord. Thus the lords of Montmorency had for their cry, according to an ancient heraldic manuſcript, ‘ Dieux aieve!’ or, according to others, ‘ Dieu aide au premier Chreſtien!’ Some writers refer the origin of this to the firſt lord of Montmorency, whom they call ‘ Liſoie,’ who was the firſt of the french nobility that embraced Chriſtianity with king Clovis, and was baptiſed by St Remy. His ſucceſſors have thence taken their war-cry of ‘ Dieu aide au premier Chreſtien!’ as it was eſteemed honourable to that family to have produced the firſt perſon who, after his prince, had quitted the errors of paganiſm, to embrace the true religion.

The houſe of Bauffremont in Lorraine, and in Burgundy, had a cry ſimilar to that of Montmorency; the lords of this family ſhouting in battle, ‘ Bauffremont au premier Chreſtien!’ as we learn from the viſitations of heralds, becauſe, perhaps, one of this family was the firſt among the Burgundians who had fixed themſelves in theſe provinces, and who had embraced the Chriſtian faith.

Many princes have, in their cries, called on the moſt holy Virgin for ſuccour, ſuch as the dukes of Burgundy, whoſe cry was, according to Monſtrelet, George Chaſtellain, and ſome heralds, ‘ Noſtre Dame Bourgogne!’ The dukes of Bourbon, of the royal line, cried, ‘ Bourbon noſtre Dame!’ as we learn from Jean Dorronville, in the 50th chapter of his life of Louis III. duke of Bourbon. The counts de Foix had for their war-cry ‘ Noſtre Dame Bierne!’ or ‘ Béarn!’ The houſe of Vergy theſe words, ‘ Vergy à noſtre Dame!’ Froiſſart makes mention of ſeveral lords who ſhouted ‘ Noſtre Dame!’ in battle. The count d’Auxerre ſhouted ‘ Noſtre Dame Auxerre!’ The conſtable du Gueſclin, ‘ Noſtre Dame Gueſclin!’ The count de Sancerre, ‘ Noſtre Dame Sancerre!’ The lord de Coucy, ‘ Noſtre Dame au Seigneur de Coucy!’ Even the kings of France had a war-cry; for according to an old MS. chronicle, which ends with the reign of Charles VI. king Philippes Auguſte, at the battle of Bovines, cried, ‘ Noſtre Dame St Denys Montjoye!’

We do not read in our hiſtories that our kings had any other cry of battle than ſimply that of ‘ Montjoye St Denis!’ They not only acknowledged

this ſaint for the guardian of their kingdom, the inſtant they had embraced Chriſtianity, which he had eſtabliſhed and cemented with his blood on Montmartre, but it was their pleaſure that he ſhould be called upon in battle. During the ſiege of Damietta by St Louis, the french cry of battle was, ‘ Montjoye St Denis!’ It was likewiſe ſhouted at the battle of Furnes, in the year 1297 ; at that of Pont à Vendin in 1303 ; at the engagement in the ſame year near to Ravenſberg ; at the battle of Mons en Puelle in the year 1304 ; at that of Caſſel, according to the chronicle of Flanders.

Monſtrelet ſpeaking of the French, when they made the Engliſh raiſe the ſiege which they had laid to Montargis in the year 1426, ſays, ‘ They made a moſt vigorous and well-conducted attack on the quarters of the Engliſh, who were not prepared for it, ſhouting, ‘ Montjoie St Denis !’ At the capture of Pontoiſe, in the year 1441, the king, Charles VII. and all the lords and captains, ‘ firent armer et habiller leurs gens, et les exhortèrent, tous eux crians à haute voix, St Denys ville gaignée !’

It is a difficulty not eaſily ſolved, why the invocation of St Denis, the guardian angel of France, ſhould have the word Montjoie added to it. The greater part of thoſe who have written on this ſubject have thought it was Clovis the great who firſt uſed this cry, when, finding himſelf in danger at the battle of Tolbiac, againſt the Germans, he called upon St Denis for aid, proteſting to adore him henceforward, and to acknowledge him for his Jove or Jupiter, ſhould he gain the victory over his enemies. The report is very true that Clovis, on this occaſion, called upon the Deity, whom his queen Clotilda adored, declaring, that if he gained the victory, he ſhould alſo be his. Raoul de Praeſles ſeems to agree that Clovis was the firſt of our kings that uſed this war-cry. Eſtienne Paſquier is perſuaded that it is more probable that the word ‘ Montjoie’ was uſed for ‘ Ma joie’ by Clovis and his ſucceſſors, who followed him in chooſing this cry of battle, by which he wiſhed it to be underſtood, that St Denis was his joy, his hope, his conſolation, in whom he placed his whole confidence. Odericus Vitalis is alſo of this ſentiment; but without attempting to undervalue the opinion of theſe two authors, I think there is more reaſon to believe that our kings made uſe of a pure french expreſſion, not diſguiſed, as it ſeems to be imagined, and that by the cry of ‘ Montjoie St Denis!’ they meant to

deſignate the mountain or hill of Montmartre, on which St Denis and his companions ſuffered martyrdom under Decius.

Doublet, in his antiquities of St Denis, remarks, that the royal abbey of St Denis has preſerved, for the motto of its arms, theſe words, ‘ Montjoie St Denis.’ The MS. chronicle of France, in the library of M. de Meſmes, gives, for war-cry, to the count de St Paul, at the battle of Bovines, ‘ Montjoie à Chaſtillon !’ which was a compound of the war-cry of the king and of that of his own family.

The dukes of Brittany had for their cry ‘ Malou !’ or according to ſome heralds, ‘ S. Malo au riche duc !’ Monſtrelet, and Berry king at arms, in the hiſtory of Charles VII. ſay, that the Bretons, at the taking of Pont de l’Arche, in the year 1449, ſhouted, ‘ St Yves, Bretagne !’ Hiſtory notices that Charles duke of Brittany, of the family of Chaſtillon, had ſo great a devotion for this ſaint, that he vowed to walk bare-footed ſo far as the church of Triguier (where his body lies) from the place of La Rochdarien, where he had been made priſoner in battle. Froiſſart writes, that Bertrand du Gueſclin, conſtable of France, and a breton gentleman, uſed for his war-cry ‘ St Yves Gueſclin !’

All war-cries were not, however, compoſed of terms of invocation: they were often taken from ſome motto of the anceſtors of warriors, which had its origin in the event of ſome notable enterprize, or in words that marked the dignity or excellence of their families. They were ſometimes taken from blazonry, and moſt uſually the ſimple name of the family ſerved for their cry of battle. We have many inſtances of the firſt ſort of cries, in the form of mottos, alluding, generally, to ſome gallant action, or derived from ſome boaſting expreſſions uſed during war: theſe are the cries called by Guibert, abbot of Nogent, ‘ Arrogans varietas ſignorum,’ in ſpeaking of the French who were going to the holy war: ‘ Remota autem arroganti varietate ſignorum, humiliter in bellis fideliterque conclamabunt, Deus id vult.’ This ſhews the antiquity of theſe cries of battle, and that they were in uſe among the French prior to the wars in Paleſtine. Such was the cry of the counts of Champagne and Sancerre, ‘ Paſſavant li Meillor !’ or ‘ Paſſavant la Thibaut !’ which was ſo uſual to them, that ſeveral bore theſe words as a motto to their counter-ſeal, as may be ſeen on the ſeal of

Thibaut IV. ſurnamed the Poſthumous. I include alſo, under this ſort of war-cries, the following: the cry of the houſe of Montoiſon in Dauphiné, ‘ A la recouſſe Montoiſon!’ which Philibert de Clermont, lord of Montoiſon, obtained from Charles VIII. at the battle of Foro Nuovo in Lombardy.

The houſe of Chavigny, in Berry, had for its cry, according to the authority of the king at arms, ‘ Chevaliers pleuvent!’ but an heraldic MS. ſays, the lord of Chavigny ſhouted ‘ Jeruſalem!’

The cry of the lord de la Chaſtre was, ‘ A l’attrait des bons Chevaliers!’

That of the lord of Culant, ‘ Au peigne d’or!’

Salvaing Boiſſieu in Dauphiny, ‘ A Salvaing le Plus Gorgius!’

Vaudenay, ‘ Au Bruit!’

The houſe of Savoy ſometimes ſhouted ‘ Savoye!’ ſometimes ‘ Saint Maurice!’ and often, ‘ Bonnes nouvelles!’

The lord of Roſiere in Barrois, ‘ Grand joie!’

The viſcount de Villenoir in Berry ‘ à la belle!’

The lord de Château-villain, ‘ Chatel-vilain à l’arbre d’or!’

The lord d’Eternac, ‘ Maine droitte!’

The lord de Neufchâtel in Swiſſerland, ‘ Eſpinart à l’Eſcoſſe!’

The lord de Waurins in Flanders, ‘ Mains que le pas!’

The lord of Kercournadeck in Brittany, ‘ En Diex eſt!’

The lords of Bar, ‘ Au feu, au feu!’

Thoſe of Prie, ‘ Cans d’oiſeaux!’

Thoſe of Buves in Artois, ‘ Buves toſt aſſis!’

The houſe of Molac, ‘ Gric à Molac!’ which means ſilence.

The lord Simon Morhier, grand maſter of the houſehold of the queen of France, (theſe are the terms of the herald’s manuſcript,) provoſt of Paris under Charles VI. and a great partiſan of the Engliſh, had for his cry, ‘ Morhier de l’extrait des Preux!’

The knights of the order of the Holy Ghoſt ‘ au droit deſir,’ otherwiſe ‘ de l’Enneu’ or ‘ del Nodo,’ inſtituted by Louis de Tarente, king of Sicily, on Whitſunday of the year 1352, after having ſhouted the cries of their families, ſhouted the cry of their order, which was ‘ au droit deſir!’

The ancient lords of Preaux in Normandy * had for their war-cry, ‘ Ceſar Auguſte !’

There were ſome of theſe cries which alluded to the dignity annexed to the family whence the prince or lord was deſcended. Thus the firſt dukes of Burgundy had for their cry, ‘ Chaſtillon au noble duc !’

The dukes of Brabant, ‘ Louvain au riche duc !’

The duke of Brittany, ‘ St Malo au riche duc !’

The counts dauphins of Auvergne, ‘ Clermont au dauphin d’Auvergne !’

Some were likewiſe taken from epithets of honour attributed to their families; ſuch as that of the lords of Coucy in Picardy, who ſhouted ‘ Coucy à la merveille !’ or, according to others, ‘ Place à la banniere !’

The lords de Vilain, deſcendants from the Chaſtellains of Ghent, had for their cry, ‘ Gand à Vilain ſans reproche !’

Others may be obſerved to have been taken from the blazonry of the arms of the family; ſuch was the cry of the earls of Flanders, ‘ Flandres au lion !’ That of the houſe of Waudripont in Hainault, ‘ Cul à cul, Waudripont !’ from bearing on their arms two lions adoſſed.

Some princes having ſucceeded to kingdoms or to ſovereign principalities, to mark the origin of the antiquity of their birth, and to preſerve the remembrance of it, have taken their family-name for their cry of battle. It was for this purpoſe, if we believe Andrè Favyn, that the kings of Navarre choſe their cry, ‘ Begorre, Begorre !’ from their deſcent from the ancient counts of Bigorre.

Moſt commonly the war-cry was the family-name, whence it happens that we read in almoſt every collection made by heralds, or in treatiſes on blazonry, ‘ il porte’ ſuch and ſuch arms, ‘ et crie ſon nom ;’ that is to ſay, his cry of war is the ſame as the name of his family.

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* MS. treatiſe of the arms of extinct norman families.

DISSERTATION XII.

ON THE USAGE OF THE WAR-CRY.

Every gentleman and nobleman had not a right to a war-cry: it was a privilege that ſolely belonged to thoſe who were chiefs or conductors of troops, and bore banners in the army. Hence thoſe who, among other prerogatives of the knight-banneret, have aſſigned him the right of a war cry, have reaſon on their ſide, inſomuch that this cry particularly ſerved to animate thoſe under his command, and to rally them in caſe of neceſſity; ſo that in an army there were as many cries of war as banners, each cry being peculiar to every company, troop or brigade, or, to ſpeak in the words of thoſe times, to each rout.

But beſide theſe particular cries, there was a general one for the whole army, different from the watch-word, which cry was uſually that of the name of the general in chief's family, unleſs the king ſhould command in perſon, for in that caſe the general cry was that of the king. This we learn from Froiſſart's account of the battle of Cocherel.

Sometimes there were two general cries in the ſame army; but this happened when it was compoſed of two different nations. Thus, in the battle fought between the baſtard Henry of Caſtille and the king don Pedro, the Spaniards ſhouted 'Caſtille for king Henry!' and the French, who had come to his aſſiſtance under the command of Bertrand du Gueſclin, ſhouted, 'Noſtre Dame Gueſclin!'

However, it often happened that the cry of the ſovereign was ſhouted in battle, although he were not preſent. The chronicle of Flanders, when relating an engagement that took place in Gaſcony between the count d'Artois, general of the forces of king Philippes le bel, and the Gaſcons and Engliſh, ſays, that the count de Foix, who had joined the french army, advanced, and, ſhouting with a loud voice, 'Montjoie!' charged the enemy. At the battle of Furnes, in the year 1297, the ſame count d'Artois ſhouted, 'Montjoie!' It is true, indeed, that the cry of the counts d'Artois was likewiſe 'Montjoie,' as ſhall hereafter be explained, which may cauſe a doubt whether it were his own cry or that of the king he ſhouted. However, it may be proved by ſeveral paſſages in Monſtrelet, and other authors, that the war-cry of the king of France was frequently uſed in his abſence; but with regard to the cry of the banneret, it was never ſhouted when he was not preſent, although his troops were ſerving in the army, as may be ſeen in the ſecond volume of the chronicles of Froiſſart.

The general cry was ſhouted by the whole army at the ſame inſtant, before they charged the enemy, or rather at the moment of doing ſo, or when they were cloſe to each other. This was done, as well to implore the aſſiſtance of the God of battles, by cries and invocations, as to animate one another to combat valiantly, and defend the honour and reputation of the general. Theſe cries, ſhouted with vigour and joy, ſhewed all thoughts of fear and danger were forgotten. At the attacks of towns, and when they mounted to ſcale the walls, the general cry was uſed. Thus at the capture of Luxembourg by the Burgundians, the ſoldiers ſhouted 'Bourgogne!' The general as well as the particular cry ſerved in the midſt of battle to make the ſoldiers known to each other. At preſent, the term uſed is, 'qui vive?' But as the cry was equally known to both armies, it often happened that the enemy took advantage of it; eſpecially when in any perſonal danger, they ſhouted the cry of their opponents, and under cover of this, eſcaped.

In regard to the particular cry, it was commonly uttered by the chieftains to animate the courage of the vaſſals under their command; but oftener by a ſingle chief himſelf, or by him who bore the banner and marched before him, to excite his followers by ſuch exultations to defend it. If it happened

that one knight-banneret commanded ſeveral banners or companies, either as the moſt ancient or beſt qualified, and that he was ordered to the attack or defence of any place, or againſt a body of the enemy, the cry of that banneret became the general cry for all that were under his command. There are ſeveral inſtances of this in Froiſſart.

The principal uſe of theſe cries was to excite vigour and cheerfulneſs in making attacks, and on every occaſion to animate the ſoldiers with greater ardour againſt the enemy: thus when a chief was in perſonal danger, and ſurrounded by the enemy, and unable to extricate himſelf without the aſſiſtance of his people, he himſelf, or thoſe near his perſon, ſhouted his cry to draw ſuccour from all parts to his help.

Philippes Auguſte, according to the chronicle of Flanders, had his horſe ſtruck down or killed under him at the battle of Bovines: he cried aloud, 'Montjoie!' and was inſtantly remounted on another charger. The ſame chronicle, ſpeaking of the ſiege of Damietta by St Louis, ſays, 'Quand les Chreſtiens virent le roy s'abandonner, tous ſaillirent hors des nefs, prirent terre, et crierent tous à haute voix, Montjoie St Denys!'

At the battle of Mons en Puelle, in the year 1304, king Philippes le bel, 'voyant que les Flamens avoient jà tuè deux bourgeois de Paris, qui à ſon frein etoient, et meſſire Gilbert de Chevreuſe qui giſoit mort devant lui, l'oriflamme entre ſes bras, s'eſcria le noble roi, Montjoie St Denys, et ſe ferit en l'eſtour.' Such cries were called 'Cris à la recouſſe,' as Froiſſart mentions in ſeveral parts of his chronicle. But as theſe cries brought ſuccours, inconveniencies ſometimes aroſe, eſpecially in private quarrels, when thoſe ſo engaged ſhouted the cry of their lords, in order by this means to draw to their party their companions in the brigade.

Nor only was the general cry uſed at the commencement of a battle, but each ſoldier ſhouted that of his captain, and each horſeman that of his banneret, as may be ſeen in the recital Froiſſart gives of the combat at Pont à Comines, in the year 1382, between a ſmall body of french horſe under the command of the marechal de Sancerre, and a great number of Flemings. The cries of the different knights were ſhouted at tournaments, when they were about to enter the liſts for the combat. It was likewiſe cuſtomary to

ſhout the cry of the lord paramount when his banner was diſplayed on the caſtle of his vaſſal at the time he paid him his homage.

As it was not lawful for younger children to bear the family-arms without a 'briſure,' ſo was it forbidden them to ſhout the cry of their houſe without ſome additions. It was generally allowed that the full arms, the name, and the war-cry of the family appertained to the elder, as I have proved by ſome articles extracted from our ancient Coûtumes: the latter condition was accompliſhed by adding ſome words to thoſe that compoſed the cry of battle. Inſtances of this may be obſerved in the royal family of France, whoſe cry was, 'Montjoie St Denys!' for the princes of this family have been deſirous of the marks of illuſtrious deſcent, not only in their arms, which they bear with a briſure, but alſo in the cry of 'Montjoie,' which they have retained, but have added other words to it, to diſtinguiſh it from that of the king of France, the head of their houſe. It is the ſame in private families, whoſe younger branches ſhouted the cry, or name of the houſe, but with the addition of ſome lordſhip; for the ſimple cry, as well as the arms, belonged to the elder.

From the time when king Charles VIII. eſtabliſhed companies of ordinance, and diſpenſed with the attendance of gentlemen holding fiefs when he went to war, and excuſed them from leading their vaſſals thither, and conſequently from diſplaying their banners, the uſage of the war-cry has been aboliſhed *.

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* During the time this ſheet was printing, I have heard from my friend the reverend W. Shepherd, (whoſe kindneſs in overlooking theſe ſheets I am roud here to acknowledge) a ſtrong and happy confirmation of the efficacy of the war-cry. A pupil of his, now a lieutenant in the 20th regiment, that has moſt gallantly diſtinguiſhed itſelf on the fields of Calabria, writes word, that, previous to the battle of Maida, the French advanced to the charge like lions; but, when within five yards, one of the engliſh ſoldiers ſhouted 'Huzza!' in which he was followed by the whole line. The French, inſtantly panicſtruck, wheeled about, and, in a few minutes, were all bayoneted, except one officer, to the amount of ſeven hundred.—T. J.

DISSERTATION XIII.

ON THE DEPENDANCE OF THE COUNTY OF CHAMPAGNE ON FRANCE.

THE lord de Joinville informs us, that the king, St Louis, before he undertook his expedition to Africa, in the year 1240, held an aſſembly of all the barons of the realm, at Paris, to make proper regulations for the government of his kingdom during his abſence, more eſpecially if any unfortunate accident ſhould befal him.

The king did this lord the honour of inviting him to be preſent at the aſſembly, but he civilly made his excuſes, for that 'not being his ſubject,' he could not promiſe to ſwear allegiance to him. This paſſage has given cauſe to ſeveral writers to infer from thence, that ſince the lord de Joinville was not ſubject to the king, the count de Champagne, whoſe vaſſal he was, was likewiſe no vaſſal to the king, and did not hold his county under the crown of France, but under the empire. But theſe authors have not attended to the ancient uſage of fiefs, for it is certain that the under-vaſſals never paid any homage, or oath of allegiance, to their lords paramount, or principal lords. Thus, therefore, the lord de Joinville was juſtified, and had ſufficient cauſe to refuſe paying any oath of fidelity, or doing any act of ſubmiſſion as vaſſal to the king. This he could not have done without derogating from his duty of vaſſal, in which he was bound to the count of Champagne,

whoſe liege man he was, whether, for the ſeneſchalſhip of Champagne, or for the lordſhip of Joinville, or for others he was poſſeſſed of in that county.

He had not, beſide, any land that was directly dependant on the king, for which he owed homage like the other barons of France, who alone were ſummoned to this aſſembly; that is to ſay, thoſe who held immediately and directly from the king, and who owed him homage liege without reſervation, for that is the full meaning of the word *baron*. So that if the lord de Joinville was invited thither by the king, it muſt have been done as a compliment, and becauſe at that time he was a follower of the court; for it is doubtleſs that under-vaſſals were never ſummoned to ſuch meetings, and that they could not, and ought not to pay any homage, or oath of fidelity to the ſovereign, or to a lord paramount for their fiefs, but ſolely to their own immediate lords, who paid homage to the ſuperior lord for themſelves and their vaſſals. It was for this reaſon, that when ſometimes the king, or ſuperior lord, inſiſted on the homage and oath of under-vaſſals, they obtained permiſſion ſo to do from the barons, or lords paramount, of theſe meſne fiefs. Thoſe acquainted with the nature of fiefs are not ignorant that a perſon may be a vaſſal to two or more lords, for divers lordſhips: it is not therefore improbable but that count Thibaud may have done homage to the emperor for ſome lands that were dependant on the empire. It may alſo have been occaſioned by his coming to the aſſiſtance of the emperor when the conditions of his ſervice obliged him to do homage, whether for lands that were to be given him dependant on the empire, or for fiefs called 'de Bourſe;' that is to ſay, annual rents, or ſums of money paid from the treaſury of the prince, ſo long as ſuch perſons remained in his ſervice.

I ſhall now mention a fact that will moſt effectually prove that Champagne was never a fief of the empire. During the ſchiſm which afflicted the church under the reign of the emperor Frederic I. Henry count of Champagne promiſed the emperor, that he would obtain for him an interview with Louis VII. king of France, to appeaſe and put an end to theſe diviſions that troubled the minds of good catholics; and even bound

himſelf to the emperor, that if the king ſhould refuſe this interview, he would quit his homage, and become vaſſal to the empire. This the count formally declared to the king of France, by way of menace, although hiſtorians obſerve, that the king made preparations for this meeting, which, however, did not take place, from the fault of Frederick, who failed to come to the place agreed on for the interview. Count Henry, on this, allowed that his majeſty had done his duty, and was acquitted of all the articles of the treaty. It is, nevertheleſs, true, that as the emperor threw the blame on the king of France, the count Henry was forced, in conſequence of his engagement, to become a priſoner; and, before he obtained his liberty, conſented to do homage for ſome places in Champagne that he held under the king with the county. This we learn from an ancient inqueſt, in the regiſter of the chamber of accounts at Paris, under the title 'Feoda Campaniæ.'

The count of Champagne quitted the dependance on France for theſe caſtles, according to the power which the univerſal cuſtom, reſpecting fiefs, gave him. This obliged the vaſſal to ſerve his lord, according to the engagement he entered into on doing homage, under pain of forfeiture and confiſcation of the fief: the lord, in return, promiſing to defend the perſon and property of the vaſſal, ſo that if the vaſſal were attacked by enemies, and not defended by his lord, the lord loſt his dependance, and the vaſſal might give himſelf to another lord, and hold his fief under him, which was almoſt a ſimilar caſe to that of count Henry, and gave him an opportunty of holding ſome caſtles of his county under the empire, becauſe he being a priſoner to the emperor, on the king's account, the king did not uſe any efforts to ſet him at liberty.

The lord de Joinville furniſhes us with another proof that Champagne was a fief of France. He writes, that the king, St Louis, and the king of Navarre, having urged him ſtrongly to accompany them in the expedition to Africa in the year 1270, he excuſed himſelf by ſaying, that while he was on the preceding expedition to Paleſtine, 'les gens et les officiers du roy de France avoient trop grevé et foullé ſes ſubgets, tant qu'ilz en eſtoient apovris, tellement que jamés il ne ſeroit, que eux et luy ne s'en ſantiſſent.'

Now I ſhould wiſh to aſk in what manner the king's officers could harraſs the ſubjects of the lord de Joinville, if it were not that the king, Saint Louis, was lord paramount of Champagne, and in this quality had the right to ſend thither his officers, which he could not have done had that county been held under the empire, or if the counts-palatine of that province had been counts-palatine of the empire.

DISSERTATION XIV.

ON THE COUNTS-PALATINE OF FRANCE.

UNDER the firſt and ſecond race of the french monarchs, the counts were not only governors of the provinces, and of all the capital towns in the kingdom, but they were likewiſe the judges. Their chief employment was to determine differences, and decide on the common ſuits at law within their juriſdictions; and where they could not perſonally attend, they deputed their viſcounts and their lieutenants.

With regard to affairs of importance, and which required the judgment of the prince, our kings had even counts in their palaces, and attached to their perſons, to whom they referred the knowledge and deciſion of ſuch affairs, and who were uſually called, from their illuſtrious office, Counts of the Palace, or Counts-Palatine.

Theſe counts-palatine were commiſſioned by the king to judge and decide on the ſuits that were brought before them, whether by appeal or in the firſt inſtance, according as the importance of the matter required, our princes throwing on them the whole weight of theſe affairs, as well experienced and able perſons, capable of terminating them with juſtice. It may be collected from an epiſtle of Hincmar, archbiſhop of Rheims, that affairs of importance were immediately judged by the counts of the palace, and likewiſe thoſe that were brought before them by appeal, whenever the parties complained of the ſentences given by the provincial counts. Suits

of this ſort were called ‘ Cauſæ Palatinæ ;’ and this name was alſo given to the public audiences held by the counts of the palace. It was not without foundation that theſe public pleadings were thus denominated, for the ſentences pronounced in theſe courts, by the counts, were given in the very palaces of our kings.

Both civil and criminal cauſes were within their competence and juriſdiction ; but in regard to eccleſiaſtical matters, they were not permitted to take cogniſance of them. The principal function of the counts of the palace was to decide and determine, without appeal, all matters that intereſted the prince, whether perſonally, or for the welfare of his kingdom.

There is reaſon to believe that during the firſt race of french kings, and even at the commencement of the ſecond race, the office of count of the palace was performed by one ſingle perſon, who decided on all differences, aſſiſted by counſellors-palatine, called ‘ Scabini Palatii,’ ſheriffs of the palace, in the chronicle of St Vincent de Wlturne *.’ Not only the ſheriffs of the palace, or the doctors, ‘ legum doctores,’ as they are ſtyled in a charter of Pepin, mayor of the palace, aſſiſted in theſe courts, but frequently counts, and other great lords, even biſhops, were choſen for this purpoſe by the king; the ſupreme authority, however, reſiding in the perſon of the count of the palace. It often happened that the counts of the palace did not take the firſt place in the courts of aſſize, although the judgment of cauſes belonged to them, but yielded precedency to archbiſhops, biſhops, or to others of ſuperior rank. We cannot deny but that there have been, at the ſame time, ſeveral counts of the palace, called by our ancient writers ‘ Comites Palatii.’ I know well that it may be ſaid theſe counts palatine were not counts of the palace, but provincial counts, who were accidentally at court at theſe times, or perhaps lords who had the ſimple title of counts, and were in attendance on the prince.

The kings, themſelves, often aſſiſted in perſon at theſe courts of aſſize of the counts of the palace, and the ſentences then paſſed were ſubſcribed with the name of the king; whereas, at other times, they were ſaid to have been

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* To. 3. Hiſt. Fr. p. 690.

given by the king, according to the report made him by the count of the palace, or he confirmed the judgments given by them.

But the cauſe of our kings increaſing the number of counts of the palace was the great additions to their kingdom, which extended to Germany, Italy, and other countries; for as it was frequently neceſſary to hold inqueſts on the ſpot, and even there to determine ſeveral affairs, the prince, from the great diſtance of the court, and his reſidence, often ſelected one of theſe counts of the palace to go to a diſtant part of the realm, and give definitive ſentences on the ſuits and complaints that were waiting for him.

This was done by the prince, whether becauſe the nature of the affair required diſpatch, or that he wiſhed to avoid putting the ſubject to the labour and expenſe of ſo long a journey, or becauſe it was important for the welfare of the ſtate that ſuch matters ſhould be judged in the places where they originated.

The counts-palatine, when ſent into the provinces, at times commiſſioned lieutenants to repair to thoſe parts to which they could not go in perſon, who were ſtiled Viſcounts of the Palace: ſometimes alſo the provincial counts were deputed by them to determine definitively, in their ſtead, the differences that were brought before them, as we learn from a deed reſpecting the monaſtery of Caſaure. This deed alſo ſhews, that the vaſſals of the prince were ſummoned to the judgments of the counts of the palace, together with the judges of the place where the courts were held; and this may have given riſe to the court of peers, who were no others than the vaſſals of the ſovereign, thus named becauſe they were equal among themſelves, and alſo held equally under another.

As there were provincial counts-palatine, to whom was deputed the lieutenancy of the counts of the palace, to exerciſe during their abſence final judgements in all private and other matters that regarded the welfare of the ſtate, in the diſtricts they reſided in; ſo there were others who obtained the dignity of counts-palatine conjunctly with that of their county or government, with power only to exerciſe their functions to the extent of their county or government, and therein to decide on all matters definitively, having to this effect the full power of the royal authority in all ſuch things.

The dignity of count of the palace was not, however, ſo attached to the provincial counts but that the king had the liberty of ſeparating it from them, ſhould he ſo pleaſe; and, if the caſe required, to deprive the provincial count thereof, who nevertheleſs did not fail to remain in the enjoyment of his firſt dignity of provincial count.

The kings of Burgundy have alſo had their counts-palatine: Poland and Hungary have in like manner had theirs: but I only propoſe in this diſſertation to notice the counts-palatine of France, and to ſhew that our kings have had theſe officers in their palaces from the birth of the monarchy; that they had preſerved them for a long time, even far into the period of the third race; and in ſhort, that other nations have borrowed ſuch inſtitutions from them.

We muſt undoubtedly believe, that the counts of Champagne enjoyed the above dignity from the time of their firſt creation until that county was united to the crown of France, whether they may have obtained this diſtinction from time to time from our kings, or whether they may have had it confirmed by inveſtitures; or, in fine, whether they may have retained it, which I hold moſt probable, as deſcendants from the counts of Troyes, who poſſeſſed it until the time of the decay of that kingdom.

After the fatal battle of Fontenay, in which was ſhed much of the noble blood of France, and the ſubſequent invaſion of the Normans, which completed the deſtruction of that miſerable ſtate, the greater part of the governors of provinces and places, deſpiſing the authority, or rather the weakneſs of our kings, arrogated to themſelves their governments as their own properties, with the ſame titles by which they held them under the kings, and tranſmitted them to their heirs: inſomuch that the counts of Troyes finding themſelves at that time inveſted with the dignity of counts-palatine, their ſucceſſors continued to take the ſame title, and to add to it that of their governments.

Afterward, the counts of Champagne, ſeeing that the emperors had granted the title of counts-palatine to ſeveral lords in Germany (to ſhew that they held not this dignity under the empire, but were indebted for it to the liberality and kindneſs of our kings under whom they held) very often ſtiled themſelves 'Comtes-palatins de France.'

Sometimes they even ſuppreſſed the title of Palatine, and called themſelves ſimply Counts of France, or of the French, by way of excellence, becauſe they were almoſt the only perſons who poſſeſſed the title of Counts-palatine in the palace of our kings, wherein they exerciſed ſovereign juſtice, as their lieutenants. Should it be maintained, that the counts of Champagne did not exerciſe this dignity throughout the whole extent of the kingdom, it cannot be denied but that they did ſo in the county of Champagne; for this is ſufficiently apparent in the letters of king Henry in the year 1043 *.

I therefore conclude, that there cannot remain any grounds for doubting that the counts of Champagne enjoyed the dignity of counts-palatine throughout the kingdom of France, and that they obtained it only by the conceſſion of our kings, of whom they had been vaſſals.

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* Apud Sammarth. in Gall. Chr. in Abb.

DISSERTATION XV.

ON THE SCRIP AND STAFF OF THE PILGRIMS TO THE HOLY LAND.

Cassienus, ſpeaking of the dreſs of the ancient monks in Egypt, ſays, they were clothed in a dreſs made of the ſkins of goats, called by them 'Melottes,' and were ſeldom without the ſcrip and ſtaff. I ſuſpect that Caſſienus meant to ſay, that theſe monks, beſide their dreſs of ſkins were accuſtomed to carry about with them a ſmall bag, and the ſtaff they uſed in their pilgrimages.

The monk of Angoulême, in his life of Charlemagne, informs us, that his body, when buried, was dreſſed in his imperial robes, and over them was placed a golden ſcrip, like to what pilgrims uſe, and the ſame he uſually bore whenever he went to Rome. Whence it reſults, that the ſcrip and ſtaff have been the diſtinguiſhing marks of pilgrims.

Pilgrims to the holy land, before they began their journey, went to receive the ſcrip and ſtaff from the hands of prieſts in a church. This was even done by our kings, when they had intentions of undertaking their long and dangerous expeditions to Paleſtine; for when they had covered their ſhoulders with the emblem of the croſs, they were accuſtomed to go to the abbey of St Denis; and after the celebration of maſs, they received from the hands of ſome prelate the ſcrip and ſtaff, and even the oriflamme: when this was done, they took leave of St Denis, the guardian ſaint of their kingdom.

Louis le jeune, when he undertook a croiſade to Jeruſalem, came according to cuſtom, ſays the author of his life, to take leave of the martyrs in the abbey of St Denis, and moſt reverently received there, after the celebration of maſs, the pilgrim's ſtaff, and the flag of St Denis called the Oriflamme. Eudes de Dieuil, ſpeaking of king Louis VII. ſays, that this monarch,

after he had taken leave of St Denis, according to the uſage of victorious kings, and received the benediction from the ſovereign pontiff, took from the altar the flag and ſcrip, and concealed himſelf from the multitude in the cloiſters of the monks. Philippes Auguſte acted in a ſimilar manner, when he propoſed marching to the holy land: he came to the abbey of St Denis to take leave of the martyrs, and after his prayers, he received with much devotion, from the hands of his uncle, William archbiſhop of Rheims, and legate from the pope, the ſcrip and pilgrim's ſtaff. The chronicle of Saint Denis informs us, that St Louis, before his firſt expedition to Paleſtine, received in like manner the ſcrip and ſtaff from the hands of the legate, in the church of St Denis. He did the ſame previouſly to his ſecond expedition.

Our authors commonly uſe the word 'ſcarf' inſtead of ſcrip, becauſe theſe ſcrips, or wallets, were uſually attached to the ſcarfs with which they begirded the pilgrims. Theſe ſcarfs, ſcrips and ſtaves were bleſſed by the prieſts, who pronounced benedictions and prayers over them, for which there were certain fees that appertained to the rectors. From this cuſtom of bearing the ſtaff obſerved by pilgrims and ſuch as made journeys to Paleſtine, the Albigeois heretics took occaſion to mock the croiſaders, who had undertaken to combat them, by calling them Staveſmen.

In regard to the word *bourdon*, why it has been applied to the ſtaff of a pilgrim, it is not eaſy to gueſs. I believe, however, that this name has been given to ſuch ſort of ſtaves becauſe pilgrims uſually travel and perform their pilgrimages on foot, theſe ſtaves ſerving them inſtead of horſes or mules, then called 'bourdons,' and 'burdones,' by writers in the middle ages.

When pilgrims to the holy land began their journey, they went with ſcrip and ſtaff; but after they had accompliſhed their pilgrimage, and when they were on the point of returning home, they cut off branches of palm trees, which are common in Paleſtine, and brought them back, as a proof of their having fulfilled the object of their journey. Roger Hoveden ſays, page 712, that the pope gave palm-branches to thoſe who had accompanied Philippes Auguſte in his expedition to the holy land, although they had not entirely accompliſhed their vows. Pilgrims, on their return home, went to church to render thanks to God for the happy ſucceſs of their pilgrimage; and, as a proof of the fulfilment of their vows, they preſented their palms to the prieſt, who placed them on the altar.

DISSERTATION XVI.

ON THE NAME AND DIGNITY OF SULTAN OR SOLDAN.

A MODERN author *, in his preface to the hiſtory of the Saracens, written by El Macin, ſays, that the name of Sultan or Soldan, is a turkiſh expreſſion, and that it was unknown to the Arabians, until Tegralbet, a turkiſh lord, having defeated the Saracens together with their prince Meſgud, took poſſeſſion of his whole principality in the year 1055. There is, however, reaſon to doubt this, becauſe there is mention made of ſultans long before the reign of Tegralbet in Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus †, and alſo by Scylitzes and Zonarus in the life of Baſil, the Macedonian, who both ſpeak of the ſultan of Africa that lived under this emperor. There is even reaſon to believe that the Saracens borrowed this expreſſion from the Perſians, ſince the kings of Perſia who flouriſhed under the firſt emperors of Conſtantinople affected to bear this title. But what confirms the true explanation of the word Sultan, or rather that the kings of Perſia have had this title, is what the Jew Benjamin de Tudela writes in his journal, where ſpeaking of a Senigat Sa, ſon of Sa, one of the moſt powerful kings of Perſia, he ſays, that he was called in Arabic, ' Sultan Alporos Alkahir,' which means the great king of Perſia.

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* M. Watier.

† Conſt. Porph. l. 2. de Them. c. 11.

We have reaſon to ſuppoſe that the moſt ancient kings of Perſia affected the title of ‘ king of kings,’ ſince it was given to Cyrus in his epitaph, inſomuch that we may truly ſay the Saracens and Turks have borrowed the title of Sultan from the Perſians, which has been particularly aſcribed to thoſe who under the authority of the caliph, which was the firſt dignity in the ſtate, governed the provinces and minor kingdoms under his ſovereignty.

This, however, is not ſo exact as not to require ſome explanation; for it is certain, that at the firſt thoſe who governed provinces were not called ſultans, but admirals. But when the ſupreme power was taken from the caliphs, to whom was left only the ſuperintendance of affairs concerning religion, with an imaginary power over the reſt of the ſtate; and when the whole government of political and military matters was ſeized on by the ſultans, they became the principal rulers of the kingdom, with abſolute power over the people, although outwardly they reſpected the caliph as their lord, and paid him every ſort of public deference and honour. In proceſs of time, as the greater part of the governors ſhook off the yoke of the firſt ſultan, and made themſelves independent on him, acknowledging, however, the caliph for their ſuperior lord, they took the title of Sultans; and it is for this reaſon that we read in the lord de Joinville, and elſewhere, of ſo many ſultans, who in other authors are called Kings.

DISSERTATION XVII.

ON THE WORD 'SALE,' AND OCCASIONALLY RESPECTING 'DES LOIS ET TERRES SALIQUES.'

THE word *Sale* commonly ſignifies large apartments in our houſes, called by Vitruvius and latin writers *Oeci;* by Pliny and Statius, *Aſarota.* Philander, in his commentaries on Vitruvius, ſuppoſes they were thus called 'à ſaltando' becauſe it was cuſtomary to make wedding feaſts and to dance in them; or perhaps 'à ſalutatione,' becauſe it was uſually in thoſe apartments that the maſter of the houſe firſt received his gueſts, and thoſe who came to ſalute or viſit him. But as this is not the real derivation of the word, no more is it its ancient ſignification; for in the time of St Louis, and long before, the word 'ſale' meant a palace, a large houſe, as the following quotation from the hiſtory of the lord de Joinville will explain: 'Ce ſerrais eſtoit celuy qui avoit en garde et gouvernement les pavillons du ſouldan, et qui avoit la charge de nettoier chaſcun jour ſes ſales et maiſons.'

We ſee in many authors the word 'ſala' uſed to ſignify a caſtle, or houſe of a lord of a village: the Gaſcons, and particularly thoſe of lower Navarre, to this day call the country-houſes of gentlemen 'Sales.'

Aventin, in the fourth book, page 183. of his annals of Bavaria, was the firſt who wrote that the 'Salii,' who are noticed in the hiſtories of Ammianus and Zozimus, and afterward thoſe called 'Salici' have taken their name from 'Sala,' being the principal perſons among the Franks who had any part in the government of the ſtate, and who were of the 'Sale,' that is to ſay, of

the court or houſehold of the prince. This opinion has been followed by Iſaac Fontanus, in his Origines Francorum, and by Godfrey Windelin, who maintain that the ‘ Loix Saliques’ have alſo been derived from the ſame word, being thus called becauſe they contained particular regulations for the great lords and their lands, which are called in them ‘ Terræ Salicæ.’ This ſeems conformable to what has been ſince done among the french princes, as may be gathered from the marriage-contract of Robert prince of Tarentum and emperor of Conſtantinople, with Mary of Bourbon, in the year 1347, by which they both declare their intention of living after the manner of the princes of the royal blood in France. Authors confirm this derivation and origin of the ‘ Loix Saliques,’ by a cuſtom that was practiſed a long time ſince, ſhewing that the princes and great lords gave judgment in their halls and at their houſes, and conſequently there drew up their laws and ſtatutes. We may thence conclude, that the ‘ Loix Saliques’ are thoſe that were drawn up by the officers and gentlemen of the houſehold of the prince, or which were made and concluded in the houſe or in the hall, where judgments were given by the prince’s officers.

As I wiſh not poſitively to deny my aſſent to what theſe authors have written on the ſubject of the origin of the ‘ Loix Saliques,’ I alſo cannot agree to all they have ſuppoſed reſpecting them; for although the Saliens may be Franks, and though, when they had croſſed the Rhine, they had ſo called thoſe of ſuperior rank among theſe people, I believe we muſt agree that before the Franks came into Gaul, the Saliens formed there a particular nation like the *Leti*, the *Chamavi*, the *Bructeri*, and others, who are named in authors, and who alſo formed ſeparate nations. It is not, however, eaſy to diſcover the origin of all theſe names, which may have been borrowed from the northern countries, whence they had come. This I think perfectly proved by thoſe who have noticed the Saliens: Ammianus Marcellinus, in his ſeventeenth book, ſays very plainly, that the people called Saliens were thoſe who had dared to make irruptions on the roman territories.

As the Saliens eſtabliſhed themſelves in Gaul, with the approbation of the emperor Julian, it is probable that they obtained from him various privileges, which made them known in future times, as chiefs among the Franks; and this has occaſioned Otho biſhop of Friſingen to ſay, when

ſpeaking on the ſalique law, ‘ Hac nobiliſſimi Francorum, qui Salici dicuntur, adhuc utuntur.’

Some ſuppoſe that the emperor Conrad was ſurnamed ‘ Salicus’ on account of the nobleneſs of his birth. Theſe prerogatives conſiſted principally in the free tenure of their lands, granted them by the emperor Julian, and which lands the leaders and principal perſons of this people divided among them, on condition of ſerving him in war and leading thither their vaſſals, the number of whom was ſettled in proportion to the quantities of land each was poſſeſſed of. It is from ſuch military diſtributions of land that the learned trace the origin of fiefs, the Romans being accuſtomed to divide lands among their old ſoldiers, and even among the new, on condition of their ſerving them in war, more eſpecially in the defence of their frontiers. Such lands were like to the fiefs called, ‘ Fiefs de haubert,’ or ‘ Fiefs de chevalier.’ It is, therefore, for this reaſon, that ſuch fiefs did not paſs in ſucceſſion to females, becauſe they were incapable of bearing arms and ſerving in war. Hence the ground of the ſixty-ſecond clauſe in the ſalique law: ‘ De terra vero Salica nullo portio hæreditatis mulieri veniat, ſed ad virilem ſexum tota hæreditas pervenit.’ This was obſerved for a long time in regard to ſuch fiefs, which could only be holden by men that were of the proper age; for whenever they fell to girls that were marriageable, they were obliged to marry, according to the will of the lord, a perſon qualified to perform the duties of the fief. When they fell to minors, their guardians did the duties, and even took to themſelves the title of the fief ſo long as they were in the poſſeſſion of them.

The diviſion the Saliens made of the lands given them by the emperor Julian, was as follows: The principal lords and captains diſtributed among their ſoldiers lands for tillage, on condition of certain duties, and their accompanying them to war. With regard to themſelves, they reſerved a part with the caſtles and handſomeſt houſes on their diviſion; and where there were no buildings, they erected ſuch as were called ‘ Sales,’ on account of their being the reſidence of the chiefs of the Saliens. As they held theſe lands perfectly free, not being ſubjected to the emperors by any duties excepting their ſervice during war, and beſide being the principals among the frank nation, it has happened that all free perſons, not ſubject to any

impoſitions, have been diſtinguiſhed in proceſs of time by the name of Franks. Hence it came that lands held by gentlemen were called ‘ Manſi ingenuiles.’ The prerogatives of theſe lands poſſeſſed by the Frank-Saliens are more apparent from the compariſon with thoſe called ‘ Letales,’ or ‘ Lidiales Manſi.’ They are ſtiled ‘ Manſi letales et ſerviles,’ in a charter of Louis le debonnaire; and thoſe who tilled them are ſtiled in the ancient laws and charters ‘ Liti,’ a ſort of bondmen, whence the word ‘ Litge,’ has been formed. Lands ſubject to ſuch vile conditions, and to annual ground-rents are the ſame that were diſtributed by the emperors among the people called ‘ Leti,’ (who were likewiſe Franks, or at leaſt Gauls) in different provinces of Gaul, on condition of tilling them, paying a rent to the public treaſury, and ſerving perſonally in times of war. Theſe people called ‘ Leti’ were diſperſed in different parts of Gaul, as may be gathered from a hiſtory of the empire. There are even ſome who think that Armorica, now Brittany, was called ‘ Letavia,’ from the name of its inhabitants.

When the Frank-Saliens made themſelves maſters of all Gaul, they eſtabliſhed the ſame franchiſes they had enjoyed in their firſt ſettlement, throughout all the countries they conquered, leaving, however, ſuch lands as were ſubjected to payments to the ſtate, in the ſame ſituation as they found them. This then is the origin of free and ſervile lands, and alſo of fiefs.

DISSERTATION XVIII.

ON THE BANNER OF SAINT DENIS, OR THE ORIFLAMME.

THE oriflamme was the banner, or uſual ſtandard, which the abbot and monks of the royal abbey of St Denis made uſe of in their private wars; that is to ſay, in thoſe which they undertook to recover their poſſeſſions from the hands of uſurpers, or to prevent them from being ſeized upon. But as their eccleſiaſtical ſtate did not allow them to uſe arms perſonally, they delegated this to a proxy, who received their ſtandard from the hands of the abbot, and bore it before him in battle. This was the real uſe made of the oriflamme, although ſome learned perſons have written otherwiſe, and have advanced what is but little conformable to truth.

To begin by an inquiry into the name of Oriflamme: the greater number of authors think it ſhould be derived from its materials, its colour, and its form. With regard to its form, it was made, doubtleſs, like other church-banners, ſlit in different parts from the bottom, ornamented with fringes, and faſtened at the top of a pike by a croſs bar that kept it extended, and ſerved to carry it. They ſay, the materials were of ſilk or taffeta, of a red colour.

The name of Oriflamme was given to this ſtandard becauſe it was ſlit up from the bottom to reſemble flames, or perhaps from its being of a red colour: when it fluttered in the wind, it appeared at a diſtance like flames, and, beſide, the lance to which it was fixed was gilded.—The oriflamme was then the particular banner of the abbot and monaſtery of St Denis, which they had borne in their wars by their proxies, who, in quality of defenders or protectors of monaſteries and churches, undertook to lead their vaſſals in the defence of their rights, and to bear their ſtandards in war: hence they have been called Standard-bearers to the church, 'Signiferi Eccleſiarum.'

The counts of Vexin and of Pontoiſe had this title in the monaſtery of Saint Denis, of which they were the proxies and guardians, and in this quality they bore the oriflamme in the wars which they undertook in the defence of its property. From this the banner has been by authors more commonly called the ſtandard of St Denis, not becauſe it was preſerved in the church of that monaſtery, but becauſe it was the banner uſually borne in the wars in which this abbey was concerned. We may therefore conclude that it was not borne by our kings in their wars until they were become proprietors of the counties of Pontoiſe and Mante; that is to ſay, of the Vexin, which happened during the reign of Philippes I. or of Louis le gros, his ſon.

Hiſtory informs us, that Simon count of Pontoiſe and Amiens, having intentions of retiring to the monaſtery of St Claude, gave the town of Mante and its dependencies to the abbey of Cluny, and that king Philippes had ſeized it, probably as a frontier town, and neceſſary for the defence of the ſtate; but, upon the complaints that were made to him on this ſubject, he reſtored it to the monaſtery, by an act drawn up at Mante in the year 1076, which was the year Simon retired to St Claude. But there is reaſon to believe that the king afterward made ſome arrangements with the monks of Cluny, for we read ſhortly after, that this place was in his poſſeſſion, and that he diſpoſed of it as if it were his own perſonal property. Odericus Vitalis affirms that the ſame king, deſirous to appeaſe the anger of his ſon Louis, ſurnamed le Gros, againſt Bertrade de Montfort, his mother-in-law, whom he wiſhed to be revenged on for her attempt to poiſon him, made him a preſent of Pontoiſe, Mante, and the whole county of the Vexin. Suger adds, that Louis, at the entreaty of his father, afterward conſented, that Philippes, ſon to the king by Bertrade, ſhould enjoy the county of Mante; and this was done by favour of the marriage, the king and Bertrade procured for the young prince with the heireſs of Montlehery.

It appears, therefore, from what has been written, that the county of the Vexin fell into the domain of our kings about this period, and that it was in this quality they firſt bore the ſtandard of St Denis, or the oriflamme, in their wars. Hiſtory is ſilent on the ſubject before the reign of Louis le gros; for I pay no attention to thoſe who have advanced, that it was known from the times of Dogebert, Pepin and Charlemagne, all ſuch

hiſtories as have been ſo fertile in fables being very properly reputed apocryphal.

We may then juſtly conclude that Louis le gros was the firſt of our monarchs who, in quality of count of the Vexin, took the oriflamme from the altar of St Denis, and had it borne in his armies, as the principal banner of the protector of his kingdom, whoſe ſuccour he invoked by his cries of battle, more eſpecially when he learnt that Henry V. king of Germany, was marching his troops into France.

It has happened, conſequently, that our monarchs, who poſſeſſed themſelves of the rights of theſe counts, have uſed this banner in their own wars, as being the ſtandard that bore the name of the protector of their kingdom, as I have before noticed, taking it from off the altar of the church of St Denis, with the ſame ceremonies and prayers that were uſually obſerved when it was delivered into the hands of the counts du Vexin, for the private wars of the monaſtery.

Juvenal des Urſins * has thus deſcribed the ceremonies that took place on the delivery of the oriflamme to the knight who was to carry it. ‘ Le roy s’en alla à S. Denys, viſita les corps SS. fit ſes offrandes, fit benir l’oriflamme par l’abbé de S. Denys, et la bailla à meſſire Pierre de Villers, lequel fit le ſerment accoûtumé.’ He adds, in the following year, ‘ Le roy alla à S. Denys, &c. les corps de S. Denys et de ſes compagnons furent deſcendus et mis ſur l’autel. Le roy ſans chaperon et ſans ceinture, les adora, et fit ſes oraiſons bien et devotement, et ſes offrandes, et ſi firent les ſeigneurs. Ce fait, il fit porter l’oriflamme et fut baillée à un viel chevalier vaillant homme, nommé Pierre de Villers l’ ancien, lequel reçût le corps de N. S. et fiſt les ſermens en tel cas accouſtumez : et après, s’en retourna le roy au bois de Vincennes.’

I will here inſert the oath taken by him who was to have the charge of the oriflamme: ‘ Vous jurez et promettez ſur le precieux corps de Jesus Christ ſacrè cy preſent, et ſur le corps de monſeigneur S. Denys et ſes compagnons qui cy ſont que vous loyalement en voſtre perſonne tendrez et gouvernerez l’oriflambe du roy monſeigneur, qui cy eſt, à l’honneur et profit de luy, et

* Juvenal des Urſins A. 1381 and 1382.

de ſon royaume, et pour doute de mort, ne autre avanture, qui puiſſe venir, ne la delaiſſercz, et ferez par tout voſtre devoir, comme bon et loyal chevalier doit faire envers ſon ſouverain et droiturier ſeigneur.'

Several perſons have fallen into the error of believing that the oriflamme was never taken from the church of St Denis but when our kings had unſucceſsful wars, to repulſe the enemy who was attacking their kingdom, or prevent themſelves from being conquered. ' Et non mie quand on veut conqueſter autre pays,' as Juvenal des Urſins writes, in the year 1386 of his hiſtory; or when war was made on the infidels, as Froiſſart writes, becauſe this ſtandard was, doubtleſs, the principal one in our armies, whether the war was undertaken for the defence of the frontiers, or in the interior of the kingdom, againſt the enemies of the ſtate.

During the reign of Philippes le bel, at the battle of Mons en Puele, in the year 1304, this ſame oriflamme was borne by Anſeau de Chevreuſe, a valiant knight, who there loſt his life by ſuffocation from heat and thirſt. Meier writes that the French loſt this banner in the battle, and that it was taken and torn to pieces by the Flemings. The chronicle of Flanders, it is true, ſays that the night after the combat it was on the ground in the field of battle; but Guillaume Guiart, who was preſent, as he himſelf tells us, relates, that the oriflamme loſt in this battle was not the true one, but a counterfeit, made by order of the king, to excite, on that occaſion, the ardour of his ſoldiers.

We need not, therefore, be ſurpriſed if the Flemings were then perſuaded they had gained poſſeſſion of the oriflamme, as they had no rules to diſtinguiſh the falſe from the true one. This account is the more probable, becauſe we read of its being immediately afterward diſplayed in our armies; for in the year 1315 the king, Louis Hutin, had it borne in his war againſt the ſame Flemings, and gave the guard of it to Herpin d'Erquery.

From the reign of Charles VI. hiſtory makes no more mention of the oriflamme: it is therefore probable our monarchs ceaſed to have it borne in their armies from the time the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of Paris, and of the greater part of France, under the reign of Charles VII. who, having driven them out of his kingdom, introduced a new mode of making war, by the eſtabliſhment of companies of ordinance. He likewiſe introduced the white enſign, which has ſince been the principal banner in our armies.

DISSERTATION XIX.

ON THE TORTURE OF THE BERNICLES, AND OF THE CIPPUS OF THE ANCIENTS.

THE lord de Joinville relates, that the ſultan of Babylon, or his council, made to the king very unreaſonable propoſitions, imagining that he would accept of them to obtain his own liberty, and that of all thoſe who had been made priſoners with him at the battle of Maſſoura; and becauſe the king poſitively refuſed to agree to them, they thought to intimidate him into an acceptance by menaces of putting him to the torture. This torture is called by the lord de Joinville the ‘ Bernicles.’ Many writers ſuppoſe, and with much probability, that this torture was the ſame as the Cippus of the Latins. Saints Paulinus, Prudentius, and Lucianus have ſpoken of this puniſhment. It may be gathered from what they have written in their deſcriptions of it, that the engine of torture was made of pieces of wood pierced with holes, and that the legs of criminals were put into them: they were placed at ſuch diſtances from each other, and forced to ſo great an extenſion of the legs as cauſed very great pain, for the criminals could not draw them back again. The holes in theſe pieces of wood were at various diſtances, and the legs of the criminal were inſerted into thoſe that extended them to a greater or leſſer diſtance, according to the heinouſneſs of the crime or the pains to be inflicted.

After theſe obſervations, I have no difficulty in advancing, that the author of the romance of Garin de Loherans has alluded to this torture, which he

deſcribes in verſe under the name of ‘ Buie.’ In his deſcription, I firſt notice that the criminal was ſeated on a ‘ coute ;’ that is to ſay, on a bed, which may lead us to read in the lord de Joinville, ‘ il le couchent ſur une coûte,’ inſtead of ‘ ſur le coſté,’ which makes it more intelligible: ſecondly, that the feet were paſſed through the holes of theſe ‘ buies :’ thirdly, that the criminal was faſtened to the wall, which is alſo noticed by the lord de Joinville; and laſtly, that with a piece of wood, called ‘ Peſtel,’ (whence probably our word ‘ Peſtle,’) or Pile, they bruiſed the fleſh of the criminal ſo that the blood ſpirted out. With regard to the word ‘ buie,’ it is derived from the latin word ‘ boia,’ which ſignifies a ſort of chain or collar, to which criminals were faſtened.

The obſervations made on this ſubject, which may be applied to theſe ‘ buies,’ and the torture of the bernicles, and what Giovanni Villani has remarked, have much probability, namely, that St Louis, having regained his liberty and returned to France, in remembrance of his impriſonment and the threatened torture, ordered to be ſtruck on the reverſe of his coins a repreſentation of theſe buies and the handcuffs of priſoners, until he and his barons ſhould have revenged themſelves for theſe inſults. It is true, we do not ſee theſe figures which are on the coins of St Louis, and on thoſe of ſome of his ſucceſſors, on any coins of his anceſtors the kings of France.

On the other hand, I am doubtful whether St Louis was not deſirous of bringing into faſhion the device which Louis le debonnaire had impreſſed on his coins, which was a church ſurmounted with a croſs, having this legend, XHRISTANA RELIGIO. It is to be obſerved, that this temple is ſupported on various pillars; and this has induced me to believe that the word ‘ Pile,’ which means the reverſe of a coin, is derived from theſe pillars, which are impreſſed on the coins of St Louis; as the word ‘ Croix,’ for the other ſide of the coin, is taken from the croſſes repreſented on it.

Guillaume Guiart writes, in the year 1295,

‘ Coment qu’ il pregnent croix ou pile.’

And in the chronicle of Bertrand du Gueſclin,

‘ Je n’aime ne croix, ne pile, ſi ait m’ame pardon.’

The french and latin gloſſary in MS. gives the name of ‘ pile,’ to the reverſes of coins: ‘ Nomiſma, figure qui eſt au dernier, pile, ou denier.’

Whence it ſeems to be inferred that our anceſtors, having given the name of Pile to the reverſe of their coin, have taken theſe figures for piles or pillars, being perhaps ignorant that they repreſented the buies; for true it is, that theſe figures on the coins of St Louis, and of ſome few of his ſucceſſors, as well as the coins of ſeveral great barons in France, who have alway attempted to make their coin reſemble that of their ſovereign, have ſomething in their appearance like to the deſcription the lord de Joinville gives of the bernicles. He ſays, that this inſtrument of torture was made of two pieces of wood (which, in this and other paſſages, he calls by the improper word 'tiſons') united together at the upper part: the ſame figure is ſeen on the coin of St Louis: the two pieces having holes through them at the bottom, which may perhaps be the parts through which the legs of criminals were paſſed. In regard to the other piece of wood on which he ſays the man was ſeated, it ſeems to have been repreſented underneath, pierced in like manner at the two ends, the other parts of the figure being intended ſolely for ornaments to the coin. I have ſeen ſeveral of theſe coins repreſenting the buies, as well of the reign of St Louis as of Philippes le hardy, Philippes le bel, of king John, and of Alphonſo count of Poitiers.

DISSERTATION XX.

ON THE RANSOM OF ST LOUIS.

By the treaty for the deliverance of the king Saint Louis, and the other priſoners made at the battle of Maſſoura and elſewhere, between the commiſſioners of his majeſty and the ſultan of Babylon, it was agreed that the king ſhould pay to the ſultan ten thouſand golden beſants, which were then worth, according to the recital of the lord de Joinville, five hundred thouſand livres: it is thus mentioned in the edition of Claude Menard, for that of Poitiers has it wrong, ſaying, two hundred thouſand beſants.

The beſant was a golden coin of the emperors of the eaſt, thus called from the name of Byzantium, now the town of Conſtantinople. This was a general term for all the gold coins of the emperors of Conſtantinople, which, however, had each their particular names. For example, thoſe that had the impreſſion of Michael Ducas were called 'Michalati.' Thoſe of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, 'Manuelati,' and ſo on with regard to others. I find there were alſo ſilver coins which bore the name of beſants, but we are not now ſpeaking of the golden beſants of the empire of Conſtantinople; for St Louis in the letter which he wrote on his capture and his deliverance, Guillaume Nangis in his life of the above king, Vincent de Beauvais and Guillaume Guiart, all agree in ſaying, that the ſultan was to receive eight hundred ſaracen golden beſants, to which ſum the ſultan, according to the lord de Joinville, had reduced his demand.

This author obſerves, in this paſſage, or at leaſt means it to be underſtood, that each hundred thouſand golden beſants was equal to the ſum of fifty thouſand livres in gold. An engliſh author, Matthew of Weſtminſter, in the year 1251, ſays, that the whole of the ranſom of Saint Louis was ſixty thouſand golden livres.

Matthew Paris writes, that the Saracens having demanded from the king one hundred thouſand livres in gold, they accepted a hundred thouſand marcs of ſilver. To this may be referred the letter which the chancellor wrote to the count de Cornoüaille in the above author; and the hiſtorian of the archbiſhops of Bremen, and Sanudo both ſay, that the king paid the hundred thouſand marcs of ſilver. Hence we muſt conclude, that the eight hundred thouſand golden beſants to which the ranſom of St Louis, or rather that of his people, amounted, were at that time worth four hundred thouſand livres, and, conſequently, made one hundred thouſand marcs of ſilver. This, however, remains to be examined; and we muſt firſt ſpeak of the valuation, or the reduction, of theſe eight hundred thouſand golden beſants, to the ſum of four hundred thouſand livres: we muſt therefore preſuppoſe that the livre has always been of the value of twenty ſols, as it is at this day. It follows, then, that one hundred thouſand beſants of gold being at that period of the value of fifty thouſand livres, each particular beſant muſt have been worth ten ſols in ſilver, which is nearly the value that Raymond d'Agiles gives to the golden coin of the Saracens in his time, for he makes it leſs by one or two ſols: this inclines me to believe, that the ſaracen beſants, mentioned by the lord de Joinville, would have been heavier, or, what is perhaps more probable, gold would have riſen in value ſince the time when this author lived, which was about the beginning of the eleventh century, and, conſequently, one hundred and fifty years prior to the reign of St Louis.

In regard to the hundred thouſand marcs of ſilver, at which amount the authors I have quoted eſtimate the ranſom of St Louis: if they amounted to the ſum of four hundred thouſand livres, which were equal to eight hundred thouſand beſants of gold, it follows, that each marc of ſilver was worth eight beſants of gold and four livres, or eighty ſols in ſilver, and that each beſant was of the value of ten ſols, which is the value we have ſet on

them. This does not agree with a deed of the year 1198, which ſhews the marc of ſilver in that year was only valued at fifty ſols, which ought to prove that the coin had conſiderably augmented in value at the time of St Louis, which is not very improbable, conſidering what we read in ſome memorials containing valuations of the marcs of gold and ſilver, and that theſe valuations greatly changed not only every year but almoſt every month. For example, the marc of ſilver was valued at fifty-eight ſols tournois from the year 1288 to that of 1295, and during this ſame year, at Eaſter, it was at ſixty-one; on Trinity-day in the year 1296, ſixty-ſix ſols tournois; at the following Chriſtmas, ſixty-eight ſols; in 1299, four livres five ſols tournois; in 1304, ſix livres five ſols tournois, and ſo on.

It ſhould be noticed that at this period there were, during the reign of St Louis, four ſorts of marcs of different weights; namely, that of Troyes, which was the moſt general, being current not only in France, but likewiſe in foreign countries; that of Limoges, the marc of Tours, and the marc of la Rochelle, or of England. It now remains to ſee if we make what Matthew Paris ſays agree with the recital of the lord de Joinville; for, according to his calculation, the hundred thouſand golden livres which the Saracens firſt demanded from St Louis as his ranſom, being equivalent to a million, that is to ſay, to the ten hundred thouſand golden beſants which Joinville mentions, the gold livre would have been equal to ten gold beſants, and the beſant to two gold ſols.

But I wiſh not to engage deeper at preſent in this diſcuſſion, which would carry me too far: let it ſuffice, that thoſe who may deſire greater information can refer to ſuch learned men as Scaliger, Budæus, &c. who have written on the ſubject.

DISSERTATION XXI.

ON THE HONOURABLE ADOPTIONS OF BROTHER, AND INCIDENTALLY ON BROTHERS IN ARMS.

THE ancient Romans have never, in any one inſtance, acknowledged adoptions of brothers, becauſe it could not be grounded on any of the reaſons which have introduced the uſage of adoptions. This has cauſed Harmenopulus to ſay, that this kind of adoption was among the number and quality of thoſe things that may not be, and which are not commonly done. It is true, that as the ſtrict friendſhip between two perſons has ſerved for the ground of adoptions of ſons, ſo have the honourable adoptions of brothers taken their riſe from the reciprocal friendſhip of two perſons who have felt for each other a brotherly affection. It is doubtleſs, therefore, that the origin of theſe adoptions, whether of ſon or brother, muſt not be ſought for in the roman laws, but in the practice and uſage obſerved for a long time by the barbarian and northern princes; for they affected to adopt, as ſon or brother, princes, or their children, whoſe territories were adjoining their own, which gave not any rights of ſucceſſion to the children or brothers of adoption, ſuch adoptions being only honorary.

The adoption of brother has been practiſed in two different ways by foreign nations, whom the Greeks and Romans have generally ſtyled barbarians. Among thoſe whoſe manners and cuſtoms were in fact

ſomewhat rude and barbarous, adoptions were made by piercing each other's veins, and reciprocally drinking the blood.

Baldwin earl of Flanders, and emperor of Conſtantinople, reproaches even the Greeks with this deteſtable cuſtom, not that they themſelves practiſed it, but becauſe in their treaties with barbarous nations, in order to accommodate themſelves to their manners, they were obliged to follow their uſages, and do what was done on theſe occaſions. The emperor Frederic I. had before made ſimilar reproaches againſt the Greeks, as we learn from Nicetas.

But what the Greeks did through neceſſity the French alſo were forced to when they were ſhut up in Conſtantinople, and attacked on all ſides, to accommodate themſelves to the times, and to avoid the inſults of their enemies. We have read this in the lord de Joinville's hiſtory. George Pachymeres relates the ſame thing of the Comains; and Albericus, in the year 1187, ſhews clearly that this cuſtom was equally followed by the Saracens, when he writes, that the unfortunate alliance which the count de Tripoly contracted with the ſultan of the Saracens was concluded by this ceremony, and that they drank each other's blood.

Such then was the mode of this fraternal adoption, as practiſed by nations entirely barbarous; but that in uſe among more civilized and poliſhed people, although pagans, was not ſullied with this barbariſm, nor with this reciprocal ſhedding of blood. It was performed like to the honourable adoption of ſon, 'more gentium,' to uſe the words of Caſſiodorus in his fourth book, &c. that is to ſay, after the manner of the Gentiles, or rather of foreign nations, by the armour, 'per arma,' by ſending or by making reciprocal exchanges of armour.

This exchange of armour was mutual between adopted brothers, who gave to each other their own armour, as well offenſive as defenſive, no ſtronger proof of friendſhip could be given than thus parting with what they held moſt dear. There is not any reaſon to doubt but that this exchange of armour was reciprocal in this ſort of adoption, ſeeing that each adopted the other as a brother, and that the name of brothers, by which they called themſelves, carries with it 'communitatem amoris, et

dignitatis æqualitatem,' to uſe the words of Eumenius *. This was not ſo, in the adoptions of ſon, where the one held the place of father, and the other of child: the one was the adopter, and the other the adoptee. In fine, the one gave arms, and the other received them.

This fraternity was formed by the touching of arms, and gently making them mutually touch each other; which cuſtom was peculiar to the Engliſh before the Normans made themſelves maſters of the kingdom, and was chiefly practiſed by whole commonalties, when they formed a brotherly alliance by acting as above, inſtead of the reciprocal exchange of armour, which could not have been ſo eaſily effected; and this we learn from the laws of Edward the confeſſor.

But among ſo many ceremonies that have been obſerved in the contracting this fraternal fellowſhip, that which has been practiſed by Chriſtians is the moſt plauſible and moſt reaſonable. To aboliſh and put a total end to the ſuperſtitions that accompanied them, which were the remains of paganiſm, they introduced one more pious and holy, by having ſuch adoptions contracted in a church, and in the preſence of a prieſt, who recited prayers and oriſons. This likewiſe took place in the adoptions of ſons, as we learn from the emperor Leo †, who ſays they were performed in a church, with prayers, and during the ceremony of the maſs.

Fraternal adoptions have alſo been in uſe among the French. Our hiſtory affords us many inſtances; and, among others, Juvenal des Urſins, in the parts where he ſpeaks of the quarrels of the houſes of Orleans and Burgundy ‡. ' Tousjours y avoit quelque grumelis entre les ducs d'Orleans et de Bourgongne, et ſouvent falloit faire alliances nouvelles: tellement que le dimanche vintieſme jour de Novembre, monſeigneur de Berry et autres ſeigneurs aſſemblerent leſdits ſeigneurs d'Orleans et de Bourgongne, ils ouïrent tous la meſſe enſemble, et reçeurent le corps de noſtre ſeigneur et prealablement jurerent bon amour et fraternité par enſemble, mais la choſe ne dura gueres.' The ſame author, ſpeaking elſewhere (A. 1411) of theſe dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, ſays, ' Ils avoient promis l'un à l'autre ſur les ſaints evangiles

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* Eumen. in grat. act.

† eo Nov. 24.

‡ Juv. des Urſins, anno 1470.

de Dieu, et ſur le ſaint canon, pour ce corporellement toûchans, preſens aucuns prelats et pluſieurs autres gens de grand eſtat, tant du conſeil de l'un, comme de l'autre, qu'ils ne pourchaſſeroient mal, domage aucun, ne vilenie l'un à l'autre, &c.; et firent en outre au regard de ce, pluſieurs grandes et ſolennelles promeſſes en tels cas accoutumez: car en ſigne et demonſtrance de toute affection et perfection d'amour et d'une vraye unité, et comme s'ils euſſent et peuſſent avoir un meſme cœur et courage, firent, jurerent et promirent ſolennellement vraye fraternité et compagnée d'armes enſemble par eſpeciales convenances ſur ce faites; laquelle choſe doit de ſoi emporter telle et ſi grande loiauté et amour mutuel, comme ſçavent tous les nobles hommes.'

The words, 'vraye fraternité et compagnée d'armes,' deſerve particular notice, becauſe it is from them we learn who were thoſe called in France, 'freres d'armes.' They were properly ſuch as contracted a fraternal friendſhip confirmed by oaths, and by the holy ſacrament, which they received from the hands of a prieſt, promiſing mutual protection and defence in caſe they ſhould be attacked by enemies, engaging to take up arms in defence of him or them who ſhould be attacked.

Juvenal des Urſins, in the year 1419, ſpeaking of the duke of Burgundy, 'Au duc d'Orleans mort, peu de temps avant qu'il le fiſt tuer en la maniere deſſuſdite, il fiſt le ſerment ſur le corps de noſtre ſeigneur ſacré, d'eſtre ſon vray et loyal parent, et promit d'eſtre ſon frere d'armes, portoit ſon ordre, et luy faiſoit bonne chere.'

I am obliged, however, to own, that theſe ſorts of fraternal adoptions were not always contracted in a church, and with the ceremonies I have mentioned; for Monſtrelet, in the year 1458, ſays in expreſs words, that the king of Arragon acknowledged himſelf brother in arms to the duke of Burgundy, whom he had never ſeen. It may be that theſe fraternities were contracted between abſent princes, by their ambaſſadors in a church and with the uſual ſolemnities, or at leaſt by eſpecial treaties. Such was the one contracted by the king Louis XI. and Charles the laſt duke of Burgundy: ſuch was likewiſe the treaty made between Bertrand du Gueſclin, conſtable of France, and the lord de Cliſſon, by which we are informed what was the effect of theſe fraternal adoptions, of theſe offenſive and defenſive leagues.

‘ A tous ceux que ces lettres verront, Bertrand du Gueſclin duc de Mouline, conneſtable de France, et Olivier, ſeigneur de Cliſſon, Salut. Sçavoir faiſons que pour nourrir bonne paix et amour perpetuellement entre nous et nos hoirs, nous avons promiſes, jurées et accordées entre nous les choſes qui s'enſuivent. C'eſt à ſçavoir que nous Bertrand du Gueſclin voulons eſtre alliez, et nous allions à toujours à vous meſſire Olivier ſeigneur de Cliſſon contre tous ceulx qui pevent vivre et mourir, exceptez le roy de France, ſes freres, le vicomte de Rohan, et nos autres ſeigneurs de qui nous tenons terre : et vous promettons aidier et conforter de tout noſtre pouvoir toutesfois que meſtier en aurez, et vous nous en requerrez. Item que ou cas que nul autre ſeigneur de quelque eſtat ou condition qu'il ſoit, à qui vous ſericz tenu de foy et hommage, excepté le roy de France, vous voudroit deſheriter par puiſſance, et vous faire guerre en corps, en honneur, et en biens, nous vous promettons aidier, defendre, et ſecourir de tout noſtre pooir, ſe vous nous en requerrez. Item, voulons et conſentons que de tous et quelconques proufitz et droitz, qui nous pourront venir, et echoir dorenavant, tant de priſonniers pris de guerre par nous ou nos gens, dont le proufitz nous pourroit appartenir, comme de païs raençonné vous aiez la moitié entierement. Item au cas que nous ſçaurions aucune choſe qui vous peuſt porter aucun dommage ou blaſme, nous vous le ferons ſçavoir et vous en accointerons le pluſtoſt que nous pourrons. Item garderons voſtre corps à noſtre pooir, comme noſtre frere.

‘ Et nous Olivier ſeigneur de Cliſſon voulons eſtre alliez, et nous allions à tousjours à vous meſſire Bertrand du Gueſclin deſſus nommé, contre tous ceulx qui pevent vivre et mourir, exceptez le roy de France, ſes freres, le vicomte de Rohan, et nos autres ſeigneurs de qui nous tenons terre, et vous promettons aidier et conforter de tout noſtre pooir toutefois que meſtier en aurez et vous nous en requerrez. Item, que au cas que nul autre ſeigneur de quelque eſtat ou condition qu'il ſoit, à qui vous ſericz tenu de foi, ou hommage, excepté le roy de France, vous voudroit deſheriter par puiſſance, et vous faire guerre en corps, en honneur ou en biens, nous vous promettons aidier, defendre, et ſecourir de tout noſtre pooir, ſi vous nous en requerrez. Item, voulons et conſentons que de tous ou quelconques proufitz et droitz qui nous pourront venir et echoir dorenavant, tant de

priſonniers pris de guerre par nous, ou nos gens, dont le prouſit nous pourroit appartenir, comme de païs raençonné, vous aiez la moitié entierement. Item, au cas que nous ſçaurions aucune choſe qui vous peuſt porter dommage aucun ou blaſme, nous vous la ferons ſçavoir, et vous en accointerons le pluſtoſt que nous pourrons. Item, garderons voſtre corps à noſtre pooir comme noſtre frere. Toutes leſquelles choſes deſſuſdites, et chacune d'icelles, nous Bertrand et Olivier deſſus nommés avons promiſes, accordées et jurées, promettons, accordons, et jurons ſur les ſaintz evangiles de Dieu corporellement touchiez par nous, et chaſcun de nous, et par les foys et ſermens de nos corps bailliez l'un à l'autre tenir, garder, enteriner et accomplir l'un à l'autre, ſans faire, ne venir en contre par nous, ne les noſtres, ou de l'un de nous, et les tenir fermes et agreables à tousjours.

' En temoing deſquelles choſes nous avons fait mettre nos ſeaulx à ces preſentes lettres, leſquelles nous avons fait doubler. Donné à Pontorſon, le 24 jour d'Octobre, l'an de grace mille trois cens ſoixante et dix. Et ſur le reply eſt ecrit, par monſieur le duc de Molina, conneſtable de France.'
' Signé Voisins.'

This ſort of treaty was not ſo much a treaty of fraternity as a ſtrict offenſive and defenſive league, by virtue of which each contracting party bound himſelf to give mutual ſuccour when occaſions ſhould call for it, ſuch as two brothers would think themſelves obliged to afford to one another.

Adoptions of brothers have taken their ſource from ſimilar adoptions of ſons, which were likewiſe made by way of honour; and as this practice has been very common among the northern nations, and afterward among thoſe of the eaſt and weſt, and ſince from them the learned have derived the origin of chivalry, I flatter myſelf that I ſhall oblige the curious reader if I add here all that I have read and obſerved on a ſubject which is ſo little known.

DISSERTATION XXII.

ON THE HONOURABLE ADOPTION OF SONS, AND INCIDENTALLY ON THE ORIGIN OF KNIGHTHOOD.

MARRIAGE is one of the greateſt bleſſings for which man is indebted to the Sovereign Author of nature, ſince it in ſome ſort frees him from the tomb, and makes him a partaker of immortality. The procreation and continual ſucceſſion of children make it ſeem as if he did not die. On this account, the wiſe man ſays, ‘ Though his father die, yet he is as though he were not dead; for he hath left one behind him that is like himſelf *.’

‘ A greater ſatisfaction cannot be deſired,’ ſays the emperor Leo, ‘ nor ſweeter comfort amidſt the cares and ſorrows of this life, particularly when the infirmities of an advanced age are added, than thoſe derived from our children. But inaſmuch,’ ſays this ſame prince, ‘ as this advantage is not univerſal, many being childleſs, legiſlators have introduced the remedy of adoption, and have made amends by law for the deficiency of nature.’

What firſt gave riſe to adoptions was the want of children, eſpecially males; and, in proceſs of time, adoption has been indiſcriminately permitted to thoſe who had children as well as to thoſe who had not. Now, as adoption is an imitation of nature according to legiſlators, they have willed that all adopted children ſhould be perfectly on a par, in regard to civil

* Eccleſiaſticus, chap. xxx. ver. 4.

rights, with natural children; that the parents who adopted them ſhould have the power of life and death over them, the ſame as they would have had over their own children; that theſe children ſhould bear the name of their adopted father, as having entered and being grafted on his family, that like natural children, they ſhould have their ſhare in the ſucceſſion,—and that, like them, they might be diſinherited.

Such adoptions were in uſe among the Romans for a conſiderable length of time; but after the northern nations overran that empire, another ſort appeared, which was not ſo much an adoption as an alliance between princes, who reciprocally gave to each other the titles of Father and Son, and by this means ſtrengthened the ties of benevolence. Theſe adoptions were merely honorary, and did not entitle the adopted ſon to inherit the fortune of him who adopted him. It is for this reaſon Nicephorus Bryennius ſays, they were only adoptions in outward appearance, and not in effect, no way approaching the adoptions of the Romans, except in the names of Father and Son which they gave to each other.

The emperor Juſtin likewiſe explained this fully, when the ambaſſadors from Cubades king of Perſia offered him peace from their maſter, in caſe he would adopt Coſroes, ſon to the ſiſter of their prince. The emperor replied, that he was very willing ſo to do, provided it were in the manner of barbarians and foreigners; but not in that mode of adoption practiſed by the Romans, which gave the adopted children a right to ſucceed to the fortune of thoſe who adopted them.

For the account of the ceremonies obſerved at theſe honorary adoptions, eſpecially among the people of the north, we are indebted to Caſſiodorus, who writes, that it is eſteemed a conſiderable favour and honour among foreign nations to be adopted by exchange of armour. The ſame author tells us, that this adoption was made by the inveſtiture of the perſon adopted with every ſort of armour, which was given him by the adopter.

Albert of Aix, ſpeaking of the adoption of Godfrey de Bouillon by the emperor Alexis Comnenus, merely ſays, that he was adopted according to the uſage of the country; ſo that it is uncertain what was the ceremony, and whether this adoption was made by exchange of arms, according to

the mode of the barbarians, which at firſt view does not appear very improbable. We muſt not, therefore, be ſurpriſed that on this occaſion the empreſs Mary ſhould have adopted by arms the two brothers Comneni; for we read in Odericus Vitalis, that Cecilia, daughter to Philippes I. king of France, and at the ſame time widow of the famous Tancred prince of Antioch, gave the order of chivalry to Gervais, a breton lord, ſon of Häimon vicomte de Dol, the ceremony of which was performed by exchange of arms. I find, in an account of the king's houſehold from Aſcenſion-day in the year 1262, that the queen of France made the lord de S. Yon a knight on a feſtival at Eaſter.

But I notice in the hiſtory of the holy wars, that there was a ceremony for theſe honorary adoptions different from that by exchange of arms. It was this: the perſon who adopted threw over him whom he adopted his ſhirt or mantle, teſtifying by this ceremony that he conſidered him as his adopted ſon, and as if iſſued from his body. The prince of Edeſſa adopted in this manner Baldwin, brother to Godfrey of Bouillon, afterward king of Jeruſalem. Fulcherius of Chartres, who accompanied Baldwin in this expedition, William of Tyre, and Conrad abbot of Uſperg, all agree in ſaying, that he was adopted by a grecian prince, who had been ſent thither by the emperor of Conſtantinople to take the command. It ſeems therefore probable, that this mode of adoption was then practiſed by the Greeks. We may alſo refer to this ceremony what is related by the lord de Joinville, when, ſpeaking of the alliance contracted by the prince of the mountain with the king St Louis, he ſays, that he ſent him his ſhirt and his ring. The Greeks likewiſe performed their adoptions in a church before prieſts, who recited prayers for their happy iſſue.

There is no doubt that knighthood derived its origin from this kind of adoption by exchange of armour, and from the ceremony of thus inveſting the adopted perſon. The ſame thing was done at the creation of a knight; for as in theſe honorary adoptions every ſort of armour was preſented to the adopted ſon, for him to uſe on the firſt opportunity, ſo when a knight was created, he was preſented with the ſword, the coat of mail, the helmet; and, in ſhort, he was inveſted with every piece of armour neceſſary for a good

ſoldier in battle. Hence he was called ‘ Miles,’ from his beginning to entre the carcer of arms, and was thus inveſted with every piece offenſive and defenſive, to purſue his profeſſion and become a valiant warrior.

The monk of Mairemontier, deſcribing the ceremonies obſerved when Geoffry duke of Normandy was created a knight, ſays, that they attired him with every ſort of arms. This was called ‘ adoubler un chevalier,’ to arm a knight at all points; but the moſt uſual expreſſion was, ‘ donner des armes,’ inſtead of ſaying ‘ faire un chevalier.’

This was properly the firſt time a young gentleman bore arms; for hitherto, if he had been preſent at any battles, it had only been in the ſuite of a knight, in quality of eſquire or valet. An old gloſſary calls this ‘ armatura prima,’ inſomuch as he was then completely armed, and commenced ſoldier, ‘ Miles,’ which was the title given to him.

Our hiſtorians notice another honorary adoption, which was performed by cutting the hair of the adopted ſon. They relate, that Charles Martel ſent his ſon Pepin to Luithprand, king of the Lombards, that he might cut off his hair, and that, by this ceremony, he might in future be to him as a father. This we learn alſo from Paul Warnefrid, in his hiſtory of the Lombards, who mentions that Pepin was very young at the time; whence we may conjecture that it was the firſt time his hair was cut.

This ceremony of cutting the hair was performed when the age of childhood was paſſed, and that of youth entered upon. The ancient ſalique law, that is to ſay, that which was enacted by our monarchs when pagans, as it is pretended, informs us, that this cuſtom of cutting the hair was in uſage among the Franks, and was practiſed upon youths after they had attained the age of twelve years. The terms of this law ſhew, that the children were preſented to the adopting father by their parents, who, in courſe of time, choſe godfathers to act for them: theſe latter are called Spiritual Fathers in the chronicle of Novaleſe. This was done by Charles Martel when he choſe Luithprand to cut the hair of his young ſon Pepin.

The ſame ceremony was practiſed, when the beard was cut for the firſt time. Aimoin ſays, that Clovis ſent ambaſſadors to Alaric to negotiate

a peace with him, and to entreat of him to touch his beard; that is to ſay, to cut it, and become by this means his adopted father. This was no new cuſtom, but one of great antiquity, and had been obſerved, as well by the Greeks as by the Romans, who were accuſtomed to have the firſt hairs of their beards cut off by their friends, and afterwards conſecrated them to their deities.

The Romans ſolemnized the days of this ceremony with feſtivals and much pomp, as their hiſtories ſhew, when ſpeaking of the emperors Auguſtus, Caligula and Nero. This laſt even gave the name of *Juvenales* to this ſolemnity, as Xiphilinus writes in the life of Nero; and adds, that having put the locks of his beard in a golden box, like Trimalcion in Petronius Arbiter, he conſecrated them to Jupiter Capitolinus.

The Chriſtians ſanctified the ceremony of cutting the hair of children by offering up prayers, as well as when the beard was firſt cut. M. de Valois writes, that this ceremony was called *Barbatoria*.

In theſe adoptions by cutting the hair and beard, there was a ſort of ſpiritual affinity between the parties, which cauſed the name of Father to be given to him who had been choſen as godfather, and that of Son to the child whoſe hair or beard was cut. This ſame affinity was contracted with their godfathers on more ſolid grounds when children were baptiſed; for on theſe occaſions, as the ſponſors took the title of ſpiritual fathers, ſo thoſe who were baptiſed took that of adopted children. Procopius ſays, this was the uſual mode of adoption among Chriſtians. The ſponſors in this ceremony bore the children in their arms; or, if they were grown-up perſons, they took them by the hand, and preſented them to the prieſts to be baptiſed, offering themſelves as pledges for their faith and belief, and in this quality anſwering for them to the interrogations of the prieſts; and finally they bound themſelves to inſtruct them, and take the ſame care of them, as if they were their own children. Hence was formed that ſtrong affinity between godfathers and godchildren, which was ſuch that no marriage-alliance could legally be contracted between them.

After the example of theſe ancient emperors and foreign princes, who made honorary adoptions of thoſe with whom they were deſirous of forming

a cloſe union, the kings and princes of the latter centuries invented another mode of adoption, by a participation which they granted of their name and of their armorial bearings to their favourites, whom they thus admitted into their families, which was only meant as an honour, without giving any right whatever to thoſe adopted to inherit the eſtates or privileges of the family. Thus we read, that Ferdinand king of Naples adopted Philippe de Croy, count of Chimay, and permitted him to bear the ſirname and arms of Arragon.

DISSERTATION XXIII.

ON THE CROWNS OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE—OF THE FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD RACES.——ON THE CROWNS OF THE EMPERORS OF THE EAST AND WEST,—OF THE DUKES AND COUNTS OF FRANCE, AND ON THOSE OF THE GRAND SEIGNIORS OF THE EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

I AM about to treat of the crowns which our kings have worn. To begin with thoſe with which the kings of the firſt race adorned their ſacred heads, I find there were four ſorts. The firſt was, the diadem of pearls, made in the form of a fillet, with lappets hanging down behind the head: this diadem reſembles that which is ſeen in the greater part of the medals of the roman emperors, whence our kings have borrowed it. Julius Cæſar refuſed to wear a diadem. Caligula made the ſame refuſal, by the advice of his courtiers. It was Heliogabalus who firſt wore a ſingle row of pearls round his head for a diadem; but he only wore it when in his palace.

Aurelian afterward appeared in public with a diadem. From the time of Conſtantine the great, that of pearls was much in uſe; and the coins of our kings of the firſt race commonly repreſent them with a diadem of a ſingle row of pearls. Sometimes theſe ſame coins repreſent the head with a radiated crown. Kings of the remoteſt antiquity have adorned their heads with crowns of this deſcription, to render themſelves more auguſt, and to appear in the eyes of their ſubjects like the ſun radiant with ſplendour.

The roman hiſtorians remark, that Julius Cæſar was preſented, in a full theatre, with a crown reſplendent with rays; and that the one which

Caligula wore, when he attempted to arrogate to himſelf divinity, was ſimilar to it.

The diadem with which the head of Theodobert is covered is the ſame as that which the emperors of Conſtantinople then uſed. This ſort of crown, the uſe of which Conſtantine introduced, was not ſo much a crown as a cap, called ‘ Camelauque’ by the Greeks of his time, and which he commonly wore: it was afterward enriched with pearls and precious ſtones, and conſidered as the principal diadem of the emperors.

This crown is compoſed of a diadem of one or two rows of pearls, which encircle the forehead, and is alſo tied behind by two pendant lappets of pearls. From this diadem riſes a ſort of cap ornamented with precious ſtones, on the top of which is a circle of pearls whoſe brilliancy is heightened by another ornament in the form of plumes: this circle, beginning at the back of the head finiſhes in front like the creſt of a caſque, whence theſe crowns have been called ‘ Criſtatæ.’ The ornament that appears at the top of theſe diadems was a ſort of tuft or bunch of plumes, with which the helmets of ſoldiers were uſually adorned. In proceſs of time, the emperors, wiſhing to ſhew ſome external marks of their piety, had a croſs faſtened to the top of the diadem, inſtead of the tuft of feathers. I have no doubt but that the crown which the emperor Anaſtaſius ſent to Clovis, with the commiſſion of conſul, was of the ſhape of the camelauques; that is to ſay, a cloſe crown.

The third ſort of crown worn by the kings of the firſt race was the mortier, ſuch as the great preſidents of the courts of juſtice now wear.

M. Bouteroue has had engraven two coins of theſe kings, with this hood on their heads. It is certain, that our monarchs have alſo borrowed this from the emperors of Conſtantinople, who had one of the ſame form, as may be ſeen in an ancient moſaic painting in the town of Ravenna, which the learned Alamanus has had repreſented in his obſervations on the ſecret hiſtory of Procopius, where the emperor Juſtinian appears with this mortier, ornamented at the bottom and top with a row of pearls on the part covering the forehead. On the ſides of the ears hang two lappets having at the bottom large pendant pearls. This kind of diadem was continued to the ſecond and third races of our kings. M. Petau has given a repreſentation

of an old painting taken from an ancient manuſcript, in which Charlemagne is figured with a mortier *.

On the windows of the holy chapel at Paris, St Louis is painted with a ſimilar ornament. Chiflet writes, that in the old paintings in which the counts of Flanders and Hainault are repreſented with their peers, they have the mortier on their heads. It is a common tradition, that when our kings gave up their palace at Paris for a court of juſtice, they at the ſame time conceded to thoſe who were to preſide therein, their royal ornaments, in order that the ſentences they might utter ſhould have greater weight and authority, and ſhould be received by the people as if emanating from the mouth of the monarch. It is to theſe conceſſions we muſt attribute the mortiers, the ſcarlet and ermined robes of the chancellors of France and preſidents of the parliaments, the hoods of whoſe mantles are to this day made in the ancient faſhion, being thrown over the left arm, and faſtened to the ſhoulder by a gold claſp, like to the manner of the mantles of our kings.

The mortier of the chancellor is of black cloth, that of the preſidents of black velvet, with a border of cloth of gold round the upper part.

The name of Mortier is given to this diadem, becauſe it is made like mortars which are uſed to pound any thing in, and are wider at the top than at the bottom.

The fourth ſort of diadems, or rather kerchiefs, that I obſerve on the coins of our kings is in the ſhape of a pyramidal cap, ending in a point ſurmounted by a large pearl; in others, the diadem and a row of pearls meeting in the front with lappets. This may incline us to believe that in theſe repreſentations what covers the head was a ſecondary ornament, or for the convenience of the prince who might be deſirous to have his head covered. The royal bonnet, with which the head of Theodat king of Italy is adorned on one of his brazen coins, has ſome reſemblance to the ſhape of that of our kings. We may ſay alſo that this pyramidal cap was the common head-dreſs of our firſt monarchs, being made in the form of an umbrella, to preſerve them from the ſun and rain. Such were the caps

* Paul. Pet. in Gnoriſm. veter. numm.

of the laſt emperors of Conſtantinople, which they called ‘ Ombelle,’ from their being made to ſhadow the face, and guard it from the rays of the ſun.

The Ombelle, or Sciade, has been, as I have ſaid, in uſe among the emperors of Conſtantinople, ſo that it is uncertain whether our monarchs have borrowed it from them, or the emperors from the kings; which laſt is the more probable, for Nicetus ſays in expreſs words, that this ſort of cap had been borrowed from barbarians, that is to ſay, ſtrangers, by the Greeks.

Old paintings, and the vignettes which are in the Louvre editions of the Byzantine hiſtorians, give repreſentations of theſe ſciades, which differ only in the border from thoſe of our kings of the firſt race, which had it not, this border making a ſort of beak. This inclines me to believe, that the cap Charles V. king of France wore when he went to meet the emperor Charles VI. on his coming to Paris, was of the ſame ſhape with the ſciades of the emperors of Conſtantinople, as may be collected from the words of an author who has written the hiſtory of this interview: ‘ et avoit ſur ſa teſte un chapeau à bec, de la guiſe ancienne, brodé et couvert de perles très richement;’ for the ſciades were made and adorned preciſely in this manner.

In ſhort, the laſt covering for the head that I have noticed on the coins of our kings of the firſt race is the ‘ Aumuſſe:’ I call by this name what M. Bouteroue ſtyles ‘ hood.’ The aumuſſes were not then worn, as now, over the arm, but ſerved to cover the head; and were not particularly uſed by canons of the church, but all men wore them indifferently.

The chronicle of Flanders informs us, that the cap was worn over the aumuſſe; for in ſpeaking of Charles V. when he went to meet the emperor Charles VI. it ſays, ‘ Or iſſirent-ils hors de Paris, et encontra le roy l'empereur ſon oncle, aſſez près de la chapelle, entre St Denis et Paris, à leur aſſemblée l'empereur oſta aumuſſe et chaperon tout jus: et le roy oſta ſon chapel tant ſeulement.’ The continuer of Nangis' hiſtory ſays, that ‘ l'empereur oſta ſa barette et ſon chaperon, et auſſi le roy.’ So that a barrete, which is the Birreto of the Italians, is the ſame as the aumuſſe.

Our kings put on the aumuſſe prior to the crown, as we ſee in an ancient account of Stephen de la Fontaine, the king's maſter of the robes,

of the year 1351, communicated to me by M. d'Herouval. Under the article of jewellery, are theſe words: ' 99 groſſes perles rondes baillées à Guillaume de Vaudetar pour mettre en l'aumuſſe qui ſoûtint la couronne du roy, à la feſte de l'eſtoille.'

The firſt kings, and firſt emperors of the ſecond race, exhibit, on their coins, their head encircled with double rows of pearls. On their ſeals, their heads are in profile, crowned with a wreath of laurel. Father Chifflet has repreſented to us in this manner the head of Louis le debonnaire, round which are theſe words, XPE. PROTEGE. HLUDOVVICUM IMPERATOREM.

The annals of France, drawn from the monaſtery of Fulda, tell us, that after Charles le chauve was crowned emperor, he laid aſide the crowns and dreſſes of the kings of France, his predeceſſors, for the diadems and veſtments of the greek emperors, clothing himſelf in robes that touched his heels, over which was a broad baldrick, that deſcended to his feet, covering his head with a ſilken hood, on which he placed his crown.

We have no reaſon to doubt but that the other emperors of the weſt, who ſucceeded the french emperors, continued to wear the ſame diadem as Charles le chauve, and this is the more probable, becauſe Adam of Bremen writes, that they always affected to imitate the Greeks in their dreſſes and imperial ornaments. Suger, in his life of Louis VI. ſays, that the head dreſs of the emperor Lotharius was compoſed of a mitre, ſurrounded at the top by a circle of gold in the form of a caſque, ſo that this circle of gold, which gave the form of an helmet to the diadem, began at the front, and ended at the back part of the head.

An ancient chronicle of Flanders, ſpeaking of the coronation of the emperor Henry of Luxembourg, ſays, ' Le legat avec tous les barons lui mit le diademe en ſon chef, qui eſtoit fait en guiſe de couronne, puis couvert par deſſus en aiguiſant contremont: et par deſſus ſied une fleur pleine de pierres precieuſes en ſegnifiance, que ſa couronne ſurmonte toutes les autres. Car entre celles des autres rois, elle eſt ſeule couverte par deſſus.'

This deſcription is defective, in not expreſſing diſtinctly the form and ſhape of the diadem, although it notices the difference of the imperial crown from that of our kings.

Among the kings of the third race, I only obſerve one ſort of crown on their coins and ſeals; namely, a circle of gold, enriched with precious ſtones, and ornamented with flower de luces. Dominique has repreſented the ſeals of Robert and Henry I. kings of France, with this ſort of crown, but the flower de luces are badly drawn. The coins of Philippes le bel, and the kings who ſucceeded him, bear the image of theſe princes with ſimilar crowns. Some authors have advanced, that it was Francis I. who firſt wore a cloſe crown, in oppoſition, as they ſay, to Charles V. king of Spain, who had been elected emperor, and to ſhew that he was king over a realm which he held only from God.

Although this opinion may have ſome foundation, we, nevertheleſs, read, that at the public entry of Louis XII. into Paris, in the year 1498, the great maſter of the horſe bore 'ſon heaume et tymbre, ſur lequel y avoit une couronne de fines pierres precieuſes, et au deſſus du heaume, au milieu de la dite couronne, y avoit une fleur de lys d'or comme empereur.' Such are the words of the 'Ceremonial de France,' which ſeem to ſhew that this crown was cloſed, having a flower de luce on the top. At the juſtings that took place on this entry, we read in the above Ceremonial, 'qu 'il y fut planté un lys au milieu des liſſes, en la grande rue S. Antoine, duquel ſortoient ſix fleurons, et audeſſus d'yceux un ſion vert, au haut duquel eſtoit poſé un eſcu de France, à trois fleurs de lys d'or, richement bordé tout autour d'un collier de l'ordre de St Michel, ſemé de coquilles, et par deſſus ledit eſcu eſtoit une riche couronne tymbrée en forme d' empereur.'

We muſt, however, acknowledge, that on the coin of this prince the crown is but a circle, ornamented with flower de luces, ſimilar to the golden coin which he cauſed to be ſtruck on the occaſion of his quarrel with pope Julius II. which had, for inſcription, on the ſide of the effigies of the king, 'Ludo. Franc. Regni. Neap. R.' &c.: on the reverſe was a ſhield with the arms of France crowned, with the motto of 'Perdam Babilonis Nomen.' The ſame king, in the teſtoons which he coined at Milan, is repreſented with a turned-up cap, and on the part turned up is a crown of flower de luces.

Francis I. is likewiſe figured on ſome teſtoons with a ſimilar cap, but with this difference, that the crown of flower de luces is over the turned up

part. He appears on others with a crown intermixed with flower de luces and rays; and again on ſome, with a crown ornamented with flower de luces and bloſſoms, cloſed at top, and this his ſucceſſors have continued.

It is certain that our kings have worn a cloſe crown only in the laſt centuries, which has occaſioned the author of the chronicle of Flanders to ſay, that among the crowns of kings, that of the emperor was the only one cloſed at the top.

I know not if we ought to believe thoſe who have written that Francis I. took the cloſe crown in oppoſition to Charles V. for I ſhould rather ſuppoſe he did ſo, becauſe he perceived that the kings of England, who were inferior to him in dignity, had for a very long time worn ſuch.

It may alſo have happened that Francis I. choſe the cloſed crown to diſtinguiſh himſelf from princes who were no ſovereigns, dukes and counts, who had a right to wear crowns, and who had them imprinted on their coins. The learned Selden, in his titles of honour, has advanced that this ſort of crown is a modern invention, and that in the year 1200 dukes and counts had not any. He proves this from a paſſage in the hiſtory of Villehardouin, who thus makes the duke of Venice addreſs the deputies from the marquis of Montferrat, the counts of Flanders, of Blois, of St Paul, of Brienne, and others, ‘ Bien avons quenu que voſtre ſeigneurs ſont li plus hauts homes, que ſoient ſans couronne.’ This ſpeech ſeems to prove deciſively that the marquis and the other counts did not wear crowns: in fact, the crown belongs only to a king.

I have no doubt but that the dukes and counts of France appeared with their crowns on occaſions of ceremony, more eſpecially at thoſe open and ſolemn courts of our kings: it is at leaſt certain, that at coronations dukes, and ſuch as were qualified as peers of France, or their repreſentatives, appeared with coronets on their heads.

The ‘ Ceremonial François’ ſays, that at the coronation of Charles VIII. the ſecular peers were there, ‘ Veſtus de manteaux, ou ſocques de Pairie, renverſez ſur les epaules, comme un epitoge, ou chappe de docteur, et fourrez d’hermines, ayans ſur lieur teſtes des cercles d’or, les ducs à deux fleurons, et les comtes tout ſimples.’ The author makes the ſame remark when he treats of the coronations of Henry IV. and Louis XIII; but what

confirms my belief, that dukes and counts appeared at great ſolemnities with coronets on their heads, is, that in the inventory of the goods and moveables of the count d'Eu, conſtable of France, made after he was beheaded, there is a deſcription of ' toute ſa vaiſſelle, des couronnes, des chappeaux, des anneaux, des pierreries, des joyaux, et d'autres biens,' as may alſo be ſeen in inventories made the laſt day of February 1350, and the 18th March 1353, which are in the chamber of accounts at Paris. It is therefore probable that theſe coronets were the circles of gold belonging to the conſtable in his quality of count. It even ſeems that not only dukes and counts had the privilege of wearing them, but alſo ſimple gentlemen; and I am induced to think this was ſo from the following circumſtance, that among the great number of ſeals which I have ſeen attached to many original letters communicated to me by M. d'Herouval, I have met with ſeveral bearing the arms of gentlemen not dignified with the titles of duke or count, having helmets ſurmounted with a ducal coronet, whence ſprang the creſt. This I have particularly noticed on the ſeals of Louis viſcount de Thouars attached to letters of the date of 1340; on thoſe of Aymar, lord of Archiac, of the year 1343; on thoſe of John de Corberon, viguier chevalier capitaine de Pierraguers, in the year 1349; of John d'Ogier de Montaut, lord of St Front of 1349; of Arnaud d'Eſpagne, chevalier, ſeigneur de Monteſpan, ſeneſchal of Perigord, in the year 1351; of John de Chauvignet, lord of Blot, eſquire, of the date of 1380; of John de Sacqueville, chevalier, lord of Blaru, of the ſame date; of Raymond, lord of Aubeterre, knight, of 1395; of Guichard Dauphin, knight, counſellor and grand maſter of the king's houſehold in 1413; and, laſtly, of Renaud du Chaſtelet, counſellor and chamberlain to the king, and bailiff of Sens, in the year 1479.

Theſe inſtances are ſufficient to prove, that without any pretence, ſome gentlemen have thought they had a right to bear coronets over their arms becauſe they may have ſeen them ſtamped on ſeals or carved on the tombs of their anceſtors. This I have heard formerly remarked reſpecting the family of Halluin, originally from Flanders; inſomuch that theſe coronets were uſurped indiſcriminately by gentlemen, who had not any dignities that could afford them ſuch privilege, and this has been handed down from

an abuſe of paſſed ages unto our times, when the greater part of the nobility, have arrogated to themſelves imaginary titles of marquis and count, bearing coronets on their arms, without any other right than what the irregular times of the minority of our princes have ſuffered.

It is probable, that Charles le chauve was the firſt of our kings who granted the wearing of a coronet to dukes; and I may ſay farther, that as he followed the cuſtoms of the greek emperors, whoſe dreſs and ornaments he adopted, he followed their example in this particular alſo. The emperors of the weſt uſually granted the coronet to the Cæſars and principal officers of the empire, which cuſtom had taken place before the time of Conſtantine, for Conſtantius Chlorus, his father, being only inveſted with the title of 'Nobiliſſimus Cæſar,' appears on a copper medal, with a radiated coronet, with the inſcription of 'Conſtantius Nob. C.' &c. and on the reverſe, 'Virtus Augg.'

It was likewiſe in imitation of the princes and great officers of the court of Conſtantinople, that the dauphins, eldeſt ſons to our monarchs, wore ſimilar coronets; for I have noticed in the 'Ceremonial François,' that at the interment of François dauphin of Viennois, eldeſt ſon to Francis I. the effigy of this prince, 'avoit par deſſus le bonnet de veloux cramoiſy une couronne d'or, plus eminente que celle d'un duc, comme dejà preparé à ſuccéder au royaume, et porter la fleur de lys entiere.'

DISSERTATION XXIV.

ON THE GRANTING OF ARMORIAL BEARINGS TO FAMILIES, AND RESPECTING SUCH AS HAVE BEEN GRANTED BY PRINCES TO VARIOUS PERSONS, BY WAY OF FAVOUR OR RECOMPENCE.

It was likewiſe a ſort of honorary adoption, which princes and kings have practiſed when they granted their arms to be borne by different gentlemen, as well their ſubjects as foreigners; for, as armorial bearings are the true marks of a family, ſuch as are honoured by the permiſſion of bearing them ought, in like manner, to participate in all the prerogatives of that family.

They are the means that have been choſen to recompenſe the actions of thoſe to whom the granters wiſhed to make ſome return, and alſo to attach them, and their deſcendants, ſtill more firmly to their ſervice.

This ‘ attribution de partie d'armoiries,’ according to Guy Coquille in his hiſtory of the Nivernois, ‘ ſe fait avec diminution notable par changement de couleurs, ou diminution du nombre des pieces qui ſont es armes des bienfaicteurs, en ſorte qu' on peut connoiſtre qu' ils ne ſont pas du lignage, mais qu 'ils tiennent par bienfaict.’

Princes have likewiſe often granted this honour as a mark of protection. For, as on the one hand, thoſe perſons ſo gratified with bearing the arms of the prince have a particular obligation to ſerve him, from remembrance of the honour they have received at his hand, and to ſupport the dignity of him, whoſe arms they bear; ſo, on the other hand, the prince is bound to

protect him to whom he has granted his arms, acknowledging him as one whom he has gained, and who, in ſome ſort, participates in the prerogatives of his family, the honour of which he is obliged to preſerve.

This privilege of bearing the arms, or a part of the arms of the prince, has been at all times conſidered as a very particular favour, being only conferred on thoſe who had deſerved well from the ſtate, and had done it ſignal ſervices. This juſtifies the maxim of politicians, who maintain, that princes have often innocent modes of recompenſing not only men of merit, but alſo their favourites, without doing any eſſential harm to their finances, which are the nerves and foundation of their ſtate; for in fact it is honour which is the ſole ſtimulant to virtuous acts, and not the intrinſic value of the things granted that gives value to ſuch recompences. Crowns of laurel, and of other trees, were too inſignificant, in regard to the brilliant actions which they were ſuppoſed to recompenſe, if more honourable feelings did not add a value to them.

Nothing was more eaſily granted than thoſe ſirnames, which the ſenate gave to great leaders who had ſignalized themſelves in battle, or conquered provinces; yet theſe could not find a more agreeable reward for their courage than making them known to poſterity by a name that comprehended, in a few letters, their eulogium and their gallant acts, explaining at once the greatneſs and worth of their conqueſts.

I place in the ſame rank with the above rewards thoſe privileges, trifling in appearance, but glorious in fact, which princes have granted to their ſubjects, or other foreign lords who have deſerved well from their ſtates, of bearing their arms, or a part of them intermixed with thoſe of their own families. They have of courſe only conceded this favour to perſons of high rank, and who had performed eſſential ſervices, which kind of recompence has been uſed by emperors, kings, dukes, and other ſovereign princes.

The lord de Joinville writes, that Scecedun chief of the Turks, who was conſidered as ‘ le plus vaillant et le plus preux de toute payennie,’ bore on his banners the arms of the emperor Frederick II. who had made him a knight, and had probably given them to him. While Sigiſmond was at Avignon, he permitted Elſeas de Sado, lord des Eſſarts, a gentleman of Provence, to charge the ſtar of his arms with the eagle ſable. Maximilian I.

conferred the imperial eagle on Raphael Grimaldi, ſirnamed de Caſtro, by letters patent, the 16th day of January of the year 1497, creating him knight and count palatine. The ſame emperor, having made the town of Cambray a duchy in favour of Jacques de Croy, biſhop of the place, granted to him and his ſucceſſors in the biſhoprick, by his letters patent, dated 28th June of the year 1510, to bear en chef, in the arms of his family, the imperial eagle briſé by a label gules.

The ſame rewards have been uſual in France. St Louis, when in Paleſtine, gave the arms of France to the teutonic order: paſſing through Antioch, he permitted the young prince Boëmond VI. to quarter on his arms, which, according to the lord de Joinville, were 'vermeillées,' the arms of France. Philippes de Valois, according to ſome, allowed Guillaume de la Tour to bear his ſhield variegated with the arms of France: but M. Juſtel, in his hiſtory of the counts of Auvergne, page 247. thinks this permiſſion much more ancient, obſerving, that in the caſtle of La Tour, before it was ruined, were ſeen two eſcutcheons of the arms of the houſe of La Tour carved on a chimney built in the year 1218; one with a plain tower, which are the old arms, the other having a tower argent on a field azur, beſprinkled with flower de luces or, which are the arms borne by the lords de la Tour d'Auvergne to this day. The ſame king permitted ſir Peter de Salvain, lord of Boiſſieu, a perſon of great credit in the council of Hymbert laſt dauphin of the Viennois, to add to his arms a bordure of France, for having been one of the chief adviſers of the ceſſion made of this province in favour of France.

Charles VI. when at Toulouſe in the year 1389, in preſence of his brother the duke of la Touraine, his uncle the duke of Burgundy, and many french and gaſcon lords, gave to his couſin-german Charles d'Albret and his deſcendants the privilege of quartering his arms, which were ſimply gules, with two quarterings of thoſe of France full, without any briſure 'laquelle choſe,' ſays Froiſſart, 'le ſeigneur d'Albret, tint à riche et à grand don.'

Charles VII. by letters patent of the 10th day of May 1432, granted, according to Monſtrelet, (vol. 2. page 70.) to the viſcounts of Beaumont, the liberty of beſprinkling their ſhield with flower de luces. He beſtowed

the like honour on the Pucelle d'Orleans. Henry IV. granted to the captain Libertas, for having delivered the town of Marſeilles from the tyranny of Cazaud, who had held it a long time for the league, and was in treaty with the Spaniards to deliver it into their hands, a chef azur, with three flower de luces or, in addition to his own arms of gules, with a caſtle argent. He did the ſame to Pierre Hoſtager, a gentleman of Marſeilles, who aſſiſted his majeſty in the reduction of the ſame place in 1596, by giving him a ſhield azure, with a flower de luce or, in the centre of his own arms. In conſideration of the eſſential ſervices the lord de Vic, vice-admiral of France, and governor of Calais, had done him during his troubleſome wars with the league, he ordered him to bear, in memory of them, a flower de luce or in his arms. He granted a ſimilar favour to the ſieur Zamet.

Louis XIII. his ſon, recompenſed, in the ſame manner, Guichart Deagent, knight, lord of Bruſſon, baron of Viré, firſt preſident of the chamber of accounts of Dauphiné, permitting him to charge the eagle on his arms with a ſhield azure, bearing a flower de luce or, as a reward for his fidelity in the important ſtate-affairs which he had been employed to tranſact.

Spain and other kingdoms have followed the ſame practice on ſeveral occaſions. Henry III. king of Caſtille, made Begues de Villaines, that knight ſo renowned in Froiſſart, quarter the arms of Spain with his own, which were three lions ſable, on a field argent, with the orle gules.

The MS. Chronicle of Bertrand du Gueſclin mentions this gratification. Ferdinand and Iſabella, monarchs of Caſtille and Arragon, to recompenſe Chriſtopher Columbus, a Genoeſe, for the diſcovery of the weſtern Indies, granted him, beſide the tenth part of the royal revenues, the title of perpetual grand admiral of the Indies, and for arms 'l'eſcu en manteau, le premier de gueules au château d'or, l'autre de l'argent au lyon de pourpre, en pointe d'argent ondé d'azur à cinq iſles, et un monde croiſé d'or,' having for motto,

'Por Caſtiglia y por Léon,
Nuevo mundo halla Colon.'

The dukes of Verragua and the marquis of Jamaica are deſcended from him.

The kings of Naples, of the branch of Anjou, have likewiſe followed this example; for the houſe of Andréa in Provence, originally from Naples, bears for arms, ‘ une bordure d'azur à dix fleurs de lys d'or, au lambel de quatre pieces de gueules au deſſus du chef.’ It is the ſame with the family of Alaman, which bears the ſhield of Anjou in the heart of its arms; and that of Beccaris, alſo in Provence, which bears ‘ le chef de France, avec le lambel de gueules de trois pieces.’ The houſe of Ratta, in Italy, bears a label beſprinkled with flower de luces, by the grant of king Robert.

René, king of Sicily, gave to René de Boliers, viſcount de Reillane, governor of Marſeilles, a bordure of his arms, compoſed of the arms of Anjou-Naples and Jeruſalem, of eight pieces.

Edward I. king of England, willed that Geoffry lord de Joinville ſhould quarter the arms of his houſe with thoſe of England, which this king granted him for his valour and gallant actions, as is recorded in the epitaph on his tomb.

I paſs over the arms of the houſe of Goulaines, ‘ de gueules à trois demy léopards d'or party d'azur, à la fleur de lys et une demie d'or,’ which are half and half the arms of England and France, and are ſaid to have been granted by a king of England to Alphonſo lord of Goulaines, in conſideration of his ſucceſsful negotiation to effect a peace between the kings of France and England, in which he had been employed by his lord the duke of Brittany.

The emperor Charles IV. king of Bohemia, gave the lion of the arms of that kingdom to the lawyer Bartholus, as he mentions himſelf, in his treatiſe on armorial bearings.

Sigiſmond, king of Poland, gave for arms to Martin Cromer, his hiſtoriographer, and ambaſſador to the emperor, ‘ un écu de gueules à un aigle eſployé naiſſant d'argent, ayant au col une couronne de laurier;’ to which the emperor Ferdinand added a chief of the imperial eagle; all which he himſelf relates in his hiſtory of Poland.

Guſtavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, gave to Henry Saint George Richmond, king at arms, who had brought him the inveſtiture of the order of the garter, three crowns or, the arms of Sweden, to be added to his own arms. Selden, in his titles of honour, quotes the letters patent.

Dukes, and petty ſovereign princes, have likewiſe granted ſuch conceſſions. The duke of Burgundy permits N. Paterin, his chancellor, to bear for creſt, on his arms, a ſhield emblazoned with the arms of Burgundy, with this motto,

‘ Le duc me l’a donné.’

Republics, and even towns, have often granted their arms to private perſons. Venice has done ſo to the families of Foſcari, Magno, and Nani. Jean de Monluc, afterward marſhal of France, obtained the privilege of bearing the arms of Sienna, for having valiantly defended that town when it was beſieged by the emperor Charles V. In ſhort, the popes have allowed ſome cardinals, their creatures, to bear their arms in chief. Gregory XIII. of the ſirname of Buoncompagno, did ſo, in regard to the cardinals de la Baume, Vaſtavillano, de Beragne and Riario. With regard to what Paradin and thoſe who have followed him have written, that the order of St John of Jeruſalem entreated Amadeus IV. count of Savoy, to bear the arms of that order, in memory of the great ſervices he had done it during the ſiege of Rhodes, it is controverted, for André du Cheſne maintains, that the croſs which the dukes of Savoy bear is the arms of the principality of Piedmont *.’

* Hiſt. de la Maiſon de Bethune, p. 205.

DISSERTATION XXV.

ON THE PRE-EMINENCE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE OVER THE OTHER KINGS OF THE EARTH,—AND INCIDENTALLY ON SOME CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING THE REIGN OF LOUIS VII. KING OF FRANCE.

THE lord de Joinville ſays, that St Louis was 'le plus grand roy des Chretiens.' This eulogium was not peculiar to this great prince, but common to all the kings of France, on account of the extent of their dominions, and their power and wealth. The expreſſion is to be ſeen in a deed of Amé count of Savoy, of the year 1397, in theſe words: 'Le roy de France, qui eſt le plus grand et le plus noble roy des Chretiens.'

Matthew Paris, when ſpeaking of St Louis, goes further, and ſays, that the king of France was the moſt illuſtrious and moſt wealthy of the kings of the earth. In other paſſages, he ſtill adds to this by ſaying, that he was king of kings. It is for this reaſon, that in another part of his work, he calls the kingdom of France 'regnum regnorum.'

Theſe eulogiums, given to our kings by a foreign author, are the leſs to be ſuſpected from his living under the dominion of a powerful prince, and enemy to France. He has not, therefore, ſaid any thing more on this occaſion than what had the univerſal aſſent of mankind, more eſpecially of Chriſtendom. This ſeems ſufficiently clear from what Anna Comnena has written in her Alexiade, that when the French undertook the conqueſt of the holy land, Hugh count de Vermandois, brother to king Philippes I. being about to ſet out from his own country wrote to the emperor Alexis Comnenus, father to the above princeſs, to inform him, that ſince he was

king of kings and the greateſt of princes under heaven, he ought to come out to meet him, and receive him according to the dignity of his rank.

No one can ſuppoſe, that Hugh ever made uſe of ſuch expreſſions in writing to the emperor of Conſtantinople; nor is it probable that he who was ſimply count of the Vermandois and Gonfalonier of the church in this expedition, ſhould affect the pompous title of king of kings. But what impoſed on this princeſs was the circumſtance, that the kings of France were ſtyled kings of kings by all Chriſtendom; ſo that on the report of this famous expedition, it was every where ſaid, that the brother of the greateſt of kings was the leader of the troops. This high opinion of the grandeur and majeſty of the kings of France, which was current among the Greeks in the time of the emperor Alexis Comnenus, continued to later centuries; for when theſe people ſaw themſelves deprived of ſuccour to defend themſelves againſt the Turks, they looked to the king of France as the moſt potent and firſt of kings, alone capable of affording them any help.

In the library of M. Mentel, doctor of phyſic, is preſerved a lamentation written in verſe, and in modern Greek, on the capture of Conſtantinople by theſe barbarians, which confirms the univerſal aſſent of all Greece as to the pre-eminence of our kings, who are ſtyled in theſe verſes the firſt and principal monarchs of the weſt.

This unconteſted dignity and pre-eminence of the kings of France over the other kings of the earth makes me believe, that Cinamus has been too ſtrongly biaſſed by his anger againſt them, when he writes, that king Louis VII. ſirnamed 'le jeune,' on his arrival at Conſtantinople, in his paſſage to the holy land, having had a conference with the emperor Manuel, took his ſeat on a much lower chair than that of the emperor; for it is ſcarcely probable that ſo powerful a prince as the king of France then was, would debaſe himſelf in ſo extraordinary a manner as to yield the firſt place to a greek emperor, whom the Chriſtians of thoſe times acknowledged only as king, more eſpecially ſince the imperial title was transferred to Charlemagne, in the emperor's own palace. It is ſtill leſs probable that Louis would have taken his ſeat at this conference on a lower chair than that of the emperor.

All the latin authors who have ſpoken of this interview between the two princes agree, that the king of France was received in Conſtantinople with

much pomp and magnificence; that all the princes of the blood, and great lords of the court went out to meet him, which is likewiſe confirmed by Cinamus in expreſs terms, and that the emperor went to receive him in his porticos or galleries. The archbiſhop of Tyre gives a ſimilar account, which is conformable to what the king wrote himſelf to Suger, abbot of St Denis, ſaying, that he had been received by the emperor 'gaudenter et honorificé.'

In regard to the ſitting of theſe two princes, Eudes de Dieuil does not ſay that the king of France was placed on a lower ſeat than that of the emperor, but only, that two ſeats having been prepared, they ſeated themſelves, and converſed for ſome time; and to ſhew that it is probable the interview was ſo managed, that neither prince ſhould ſeem to have any advantage over the other, the ſame author relates, that when the emperor Manuel, after the king had paſſed the ſtraits, and was in Aſia, ſent to entreat him to return to his palace, to diſcuſs ſome new matters which had juſt happened, he refuſed, returning for anſwer to the emperor, 'ut in ripam ſuam deſcenderet, vel in mari ex æquo colloquium fieret.' This ſufficiently proves that Louis was unwilling to yield in any thing to the emperor, or give him the advantage of going to his palace, but carried himſelf, on theſe occaſions, like a prince of equal rank.

Arnold of Lubeck, deſcribing the extravagant pride of the greek princes, ſays, that the ſovereigns, who came to viſit them, kiſſed their knees, but that the king of France was too great a lord to debaſe himſelf by ſuch meanneſſes. Hiſtory tells us, that Manuel came to receive him at the entrance of his palace, and that he ſent out of the town all his nobles of high rank to meet him; and that when the emperor wanted a ſecond interview, the king ſent him word, that if he were deſirous of having an interview, he muſt take the trouble of coming to him, on the ſea-ſhore, where he then was, or have the conference holden on the ſea, with equal diſtinctions on each ſide, 'vel in mari, ex æquo colloquium fieret;' for this is the true reading, and not 'ex equo,' as in the printed copies, ſeeing that this interview on horſeback could not take place on the ſea, like to that of Conrad with Manuel in Conſtantinople.

Since I have been led to ſpeak of the conference of Louis VII. with the emperor Manuel, I will now endeavour to clear up a point of our hiſtory

reſpecting this king. The author of his life ſays, that being on his departure from Paleſtine, 'in portu acconenſi navigium conſcendit, mariſque nullo impediente periculo ad regnum proprium reverſus eſt.' Yet, notwithſtanding this, the greater part of other authors agree in writing, that he narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the Greeks, then at war with the Sicilians, truſting to their fleet, which was to convoy him. Vincent de Beauvais goes ſo far as to ſay, that he was taken by the Greeks, and that as they were carrying him to the emperor Manuel, then beſieging Corfou, Georges admiral of Sicily returning from the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople, where he had burnt the ſuburbs and adjoining palaces, having diſcharged golden arrows into that of the emperor, reſcued him from their hands. Cinamus confirms this, and adds, that the king very narrowly eſcaped being captured, which happened in this wiſe: Louis having determined to return to France, hired the veſſels that were in the ports of Paleſtine, and embarked. On his paſſage, he joined the fleet of the Sicilians, who were on a cruiſe: they met that of the Greeks, commanded by Churupes. The combat began. Louis, who had quitted his own veſſel to embark on board one of the Sicilians, found himſelf in the midſt of the engagement, when, perceiving his danger, he hoiſted the flag of the allies of the empire, which prevented any further attacks being made on his ſhip. However, ſome of his people were made priſoners, but the emperor, at his requeſt, cauſed them to be returned, with every thing that had been taken with them.

Philadelfo Mugnos, in his genealogies of the illuſtrious families of Sicily, recites a patent of king Roger in favour of George Lindolino, which aſcribes to this knight the honour of having, on this occaſion, delivered the king, Louis VII. from the hands of the Greeks. But there muſt be ſome miſtake in the date of this patent, which bears that of 1146, at which period Louis had not gone to the holy land, and may induce us to ſuſpect the truth of the document. However this may be, it is ſufficiently clear, from the authors I have quoted, that Fazello is miſtaken, when he writes that Louis, on his return from Paleſtine, having been made priſoner by the Saracens, was delivered by king Roger of Sicily, who was then at ſea with his fleet.

DISSERTATION XXVI.

ON THE PORTUS ITIUS, OR PORTUS ICCIUS.

WISSAN is a ſmall burgh ſeated on the ſea-ſhore in the county of the Boulonois, between the towns of Boulogne and Calais, conſiſting of about twenty-four hearths, excluſive of three or four hamlets dependent on it.

There are neither gates nor ditches, nor walls of any kind to this burgh, nor even ruins to ſhow that it had been formerly incloſed. There is a chapel at that end towards Boulogne, but the parochial church is at the hamlet of Sombres, diſtant about two or three hundred paces. Between this church and the town is what is called the mount of the caſtle, which may be about forty fathoms in length, and of an oval form.

Some remains of old buildings are in the town, ſaid to have ſerved for magazines for the ſtaple of wool brought from England; and others, which prove it has been of much greater extent in former times. Indeed, Froiſſart calls it a large town, and other hiſtorians ſhew that it was conſiderable for its port, which was the one uſually embarked from to ſail to England, which I ſhall hope to prove in this diſcuſſion, although at this day there are no remains of its former grandeur. The ancient law of the Boulonois gave it alſo the title of Town; and even at this time there are a mayor and ſheriffs, who have the management of the police, and the cognizance of crimes committed within their town and its precincts: they have beſide the government of the hoſpital. The count de Boulogne, to whom this town was a fief, had a bailiff there; and ſince the county has been annexed to the

crown of France, it has been formed into a royal bailiwick, under the authority of the bailiff of Boulogne, who goes thither once a-week to adminiſter juſtice. A ſmall rivulet paſſes through this town, whoſe ſpringhead is near to the church of Sombres.

Camden, in his Britannia, in deſcribing the county of Kent, was the firſt who publiſhed that this place was the Portus Itius of Cæsar; for after having refuted the opinions of thoſe who had placed it at Calais, he adds,—'Itium igitur alibi quærendum exiſtimo, ad Witſan ſcilicet inferius prope Blacneſt, quod nos Witſan vocamus, verbo ab Itio non abludente. Huc enim omnes ex hac inſula tranſmiſiſſe ex hiſtoriis noſtris obſervamus.'

And as this conjecture is the moſt plauſible of all that have been offered by different writers, I ſhall attempt to eſtabliſh it on ſuch grounds as will not leave a doubt on the ſubject. But I muſt firſt premiſe what I have to ſay on Cæſar's deſcription of this port, without embarraſſing myſelf with any tedious diſcourſe, for it has been a matter frequently treated on by the learned.

Among the moſt convenient and uſual ports for croſſing from Gaul to Britain, Cæſar mentions three, all of which he places in the country of the Morini; but he only names the one fixed on, for the tranſport of his legions to Britain, becauſe it was at the narroweſt part of the channel, and afforded the ſhorteſt paſſage to the oppoſite coaſt. Beſide this port, he notices two others in the ſame country; the one higher up, and the other lower down the coaſt. All authors who have written on the Commentaries of Cæſar, and thoſe who have treated of the geography of Gaul, have exerted themſelves to diſcover the ſituation of this port, on which depends the knowledge of the two others in its neighbourhood; and their opinions have been found ſo various, that the moſt indifferent have been uncertain which they ſhould embrace. I ſhall not ſtop to refute thoſe who have advanced that it was Sluys, Bruges, le Portet*, becauſe ſuch opinions are quite improbable. I ſhall rather endeavour to eſtabliſh the idea which I have, or rather which Camden has ſtarted, for he is the firſt who broached it, although he has but ſlightly proved it.

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* Q. Le Portet. I cannot find it.

Cæſar tells us, in expreſs words, that the Portus Itius was ſituated at that part where the paſſage over the ſea was the moſt convenient; and when he ſays it was the moſt convenient, he means to ſay that it was the ſhorteſt. Hence it follows, that Cæſar, on this occaſion, conſidered not ſo much the ſize of the port as the conveniency of the paſſage, and where the croſſing would be the ſhorteſt. Now it is certain, from the report of all ſeamen, that the paſſage over the channel, from Wiſſan to England, is ſhorter than from Calais by a league, or a league and a half, and ſhorter than from Boulogne by two long leagues.

The paſſage from the Portus Itius was, according to Cæſar, about thirty thouſand paces, but as this meaſurement depends on the ſpot he landed on in England, which is maintained to be Richeborough or Sandwich, it is therefore difficult to lay any certain ground for the diſtance of this paſſage. The name of Wiſſan would not be leſs favourable to the conjecture reſpecting the Portus Itius or Iccius; for the MSS. of the Commentaries have this word very differently, ſome with a ſingle c. as Icius, others with two, Iccius, and others again with a t. Itius. It is probable that Cæſar may have expreſſed the firſt ſyllable of the word ‘ wi’ by the ſingle i; and that this place was called ‘ Wic, Wics,’ or perhaps ‘ Wis,’ or ‘ Wits,’ which was a familiar common pronunciation in the gauliſh language, and is now preſerved in the German and Flemiſh, which have been derived from it, Cæſar not being able to render this ſyllable Wi, in Latin, but by the ſingle I, becauſe the W. is pronounced more in the throat than by the tongue, and is uttered like to the French ‘ ou,’ which cannot be expreſſed in Latin.

The word ‘ Wic,’ in the ſaxon and ancient german languages, ſignifies at times a bulwark, a houſe, a gulph, or ſea-port. I own that no ſtreſs can with certainty be laid on theſe etymologies: therefore I make no account of that which ſome have given to the Portus Itius, who derive it from ‘ Itando,’ becauſe it was there that all embarked for England, nor on that of Heuter, who propoſes to interpret ‘ Iccius,’ ‘ quaſi Ic-cie, hoc eſt, video, Scilicet Portum, aut inſulam Britanniam,’ for all this has very little probability. There is, however, ſome connection between Its, or

Itius, and Witſan; for it is certain that this termination in ‘ an’ is common to many names of places and families in the Boulonois. But I think the principal ground on which the Portus Itius may be eſtabliſhed at Wiſſan, is, that it is eaſy to prove, by the authority of many grave authors, that the town and port of Wiſſan has been the place where, time out of mind, all have embarked who intended to croſs from Gaul to Britain, or from Britain to Gaul. The enumeration of theſe proofs, which include a ſpace of nearly eight hundred years, would be too tireſome: it will ſuffice that I aſſure my reader I have under my eyes more than ſixty pages from ancient and irreproachable authors, which confirm the above from the year 569 to that of 1327, the period when the lord of Beaumont, going to the aſſiſtance of the king of England againſt the Scots, embarked with his troops at Wiſſan, as in the following year did the ambaſſadors from the king of France to the king of England.

The moment Calais was in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh they not only fortified the town, and re-eſtabliſhed and increaſed its harbour, but that of Wiſſan was abandoned, and the paſſage from Calais to England was the only one made uſe of. On the other hand, as there were almoſt continual wars between the two nations, and as it was not perfectly ſecure to embark always at this port, that of Boulogne was made uſe of, becauſe it was more conſiderable, and ſtronger than Wiſſan, which, beſides, had been ruined and burnt by the Engliſh during the time of the ſiege of Calais.

Another circumſtance which proves the importance of the port of Wiſſan is, that in ancient times the counts of Boulogne raiſed a conſiderable revenue from a duty which they laid on veſſels, and perſons who uſed this paſſage.

I do not obſerve that any mention is made of this port after the capture of Calais, or that any one embarked there. The ſea and ſand have now ſo overwhelmed and filled up what was the port, that the ſpot can ſcarcely be known where it formerly ſtood. There are nevertheleſs common fields that extend as far as the village of Tardinghem, pretty near to Blacnez, which le Portolano calls the Cap de Witſan, and it may be ſuppoſed to be the part where the harbour was ſituated. Theſe commons are bounded on the land ſide by elevated ground, and towards the ſea by ſand hills, forming

a ſort of large baſon into which the ſea may be introduced either towards Wiſſan by the ſmall rivulet that runs through the town, or toward Tardinghem by another little brook that runs alſo through that place.

There is reaſon to believe that commerce having been diverted from Wiſſan, the ſands which are perpetually drifting in great quantities have been ſuffered to choak the mouth of the harbour, this part of the coaſt being perfectly flat. What alſo induces me to fix on this place for the harbour is, that on theſe commons, about two hundred paces from the town, is a mount called the Pharos, and a houſe near it that ſtill retains this name, as if the entrance of the port of Wiſſan had been there.

It is not to be wondered at, that we are now obliged to ſeek for the place where formerly exiſted the port of Wiſſan which was ſo much frequented in preceding ages, ſince the ſame thing has happened to Aigues-mortes in Languedoc, where all the troops embarked for the croiſades, which fact now appears ſo improbable, ſeeing that it is half a league diſtant from the ſea.

The ſame has happened to divers ports of Conſtantinople, which had been formed by different emperors, but of which no veſtiges now remain.

DISSERTATION XXVII.

ON PRIVATE WARS, AND ON THE RIGHT OF CUSTOMARY WARFARE.

THE mention made by the lord de Joinville, in his hiſtory of the wars of the count de Châlons with the count of Burgundy his ſon, induces me to undertake the diſcuſſion of ſo important a ſubject in this place. There is nothing more common in the courſe of our hiſtory, and in thoſe of our neighbours, than theſe wars between barons and gentlemen, with the knowledge and aſſent of their ſovereigns, but without their interference. This was ſo univerſal that it may be ſaid the vaſſals of princes divided with them the faireſt jewel in their crown, the right of declaring and making war. But, as there were eſtabliſhed rules and maxims for this ſort of warfare, I intend to ſhow in this diſſertation, what they have been, and how the barons acted on ſuch occaſions. I undertake this the more cheerfully, becauſe it belongs to the hiſtory of St Louis; for it is certain that he was one of our kings who moſt earneſtly endeavoured to annihilate theſe unfortunate wars, which kept up perpetual diviſions among the nobility of France.

But to proceed methodically in this diſcuſſion, I muſt firſt ſhew who were thoſe that had this cuſtomary right of making war, then between what perſons it was made, for what cauſes, the different manners of declaring it, who are included, and who excepted from it, and the various modes of putting an end to it. I ſhall conclude by pointing out how this

deteſtable cuſtom of making war by the vaſſals of a prince has been entirely aboliſhed.

Every gentleman, according to Philippe de Beaumanoir, had a right to make war, ‘ autre que gentilhomme ne poeut guerroyer.’ And he thus excludes all plebeians, whom he ſtyles ‘ Hommes de Poëſté;’ that is to ſay, ſubject to their lords, and ſo abſolutely dependent on them, that they may diſpoſe of them as they may pleaſe, which was not the caſe with fieffed vaſſals. He alſo excludes citizens, among whom, ſhould any diſpute ariſe, or, to uſe his own words, ‘ manéces ou deffiemens, ou mellées ſourdent,’ the crime was to be puniſhed by the uſual judge, according to the rank of the offender, for ſuch perſons could not uſe the means of war.

By the word Gentleman muſt be underſtood all who held fiefs, becauſe in ancient times none but ſuch as were noble could hold them. Biſhops, abbots and monaſteries, having lands under this tenure, had alſo this right; and becauſe their profeſſion did not allow of their bearing arms, they had their conteſts carried on by their vidames and proxies.

There could be no war between gentlemen on the one ſide, and plebeians or citizens on the other. The reaſon was, that if the gentleman made war on the plebeian, whom he always ſtyled ‘ Homme de Poëſté,’ the latter not having the right of war, from being diveſted of the title of noble, would have been often badly treated by the gentleman, if not killed by him. So that whenever it happened that a ſerious quarrel aroſe between a gentleman and a plebeian, the latter, to ſhelter himſelf from the inſults of his enemy, demanded that the peace ſhould be kept, which was inſtantly aſſented to. But if the plebeian ſhould neglect to make this demand, the gentleman to whom, or to whoſe relations, the injury had been done, might legally purſue his revenge by deeds of arms. On the contrary, if a gentleman ſhould inſult a plebeian or citizen, neither could take their revenge by arms, but they muſt ſeek reparation by the uſual mode of law.

Every ſort of injury could not be revenged by arms. It muſt have been an atrocious, capital, and public criminal act: therefore what gave riſe to this ſort of warfare was the atrociouſneſs of the offence, which, according to the common practice of law, was deſerving death. This is proved by Beaumanoir, who adds, that although a gentleman had the right of

purſuing the offender, who had perſonally injured him, or any of his relatives, by means of arms, by other opportunities than thoſe offered by open war between them, that did not prevent the lord, whoſe vaſſal the offender was, from judging and condemning him by his court of juſtice: he might arreſt him, and deliver him up to puniſhment, according to the exigence and atrocity of the crime. This might even take place after peace had been concluded between the two parties, if it were not prevented by the interference of the king, or the baronial lord of the perſon who had committed the crime. 'Car autre ſigneur ne poeut fere ne ſoffrir ces manieres de pez.' The reaſon why the lord might purſue vengeance on ſuch crimes, was, 'que cil qui font les vilains meffez de cas de crieme, ne meffont pas tant ſeulement à adverſe partie, n'a lor lignage, mez au ſignor qui les ont en garde, et à juſtice.'

It does not appear that theſe private wars generally took their riſe in the provinces from the cauſes which I have mentioned, namely, crimes and offences. We read of theſe wars often taking place from differences that have ariſen about ſucceſſions to eſtates. Hiſtory furniſhes us with numberleſs inſtances, and among others our lord de Joinville, when he ſpeaks of the war that happened during the reign of St Louis, between the count of Champagne and the queen of Cyprus, reſpecting the ſucceſſion to that county.

Private wars were declared in various ways; firſt, by the act itſelf, of taking up arms when an open rupture happened. In this caſe, thoſe preſent at the quarrel were engaged in this war, according to the party or company they were with at the time. By threatening words, when in a diſpute menaces were uſed, or by challenges ſent to an enemy.

Challenges, which the latin authors of the middle ages call 'diffidationes,' were made by words, or by writing. They were made by words, when a defiance was ſent to an enemy, and when war was declared againſt him, by perſons ſent purpoſely to denounce it. On theſe occaſions, neither heralds nor kings at arms were made uſe of, but perſons of rank, and knights who bore the challenge. It was thus the French declared war againſt the emperors Iſaac and Alexis, in the year 1203, having choſen for this purpoſe Conon de Bethune, Geoffroy de Villehardouin, marſhal of Champagne,

and Miles de Braibans, knights. They were ſometimes borne by biſhops and abbots, as may be gathered from hiſtory.

And as it was not lawful to ſurpriſe an enemy without having given him time to prepare himſelf for defence, the emperors ordained that he could not be attacked till after three days ſhould have elapſed ſince the challenge had been given, under pain of baniſhment, and being branded for a traitor.

The author of the war, that is to ſay, he who declared it, and who pretended to be offended by an enemy, is called by Philippe de Beaumanoir 'Quievetaine,' or chief of the war. In regard to ſuch as took part with him in it, the firſt were of his lineage; for the war being declared and open, all the relatives of the chief of the war were comprehended in it, without any particular declaration, and often found themſelves included againſt their will, under pretext of revenging an injury done to their kindred, or of defending them when attacked, it being a matter of family honour. This bound them ſo ſtrictly that they could not diſpenſe with entering into the war without renouncing their family, and by this means rendering themſelves incapable of ſucceeding to any of their kindred, or profiting from fines, or other civil intereſts, that might ariſe from aſſaſſinations attempted againſt their perſons; for this is expreſſly noticed, or rather ordained, by the laws of Henry I. of England. Becauſe it ſometimes happened that the relatives of the chief of the war had not any knowledge of the war, or that challenges had been ſent, and were, in conſequence, ſurpriſed by their common enemy, who attacked them, before they had any information of the war, it was ordained, that thoſe of the lineage ſhould not commence the war till after forty days had expired after the declaration and defiances had been ſent, unleſs they ſhould have been preſent at the act, that is to ſay, when the war was firſt begun, by quarrelling, and acts of violence; but in regard to ſuch as were not preſent at the quarrel, they had a truce of forty days, during which they had time and liberty to mix in the war, to make their preparations for this effect, or to ſeek ſecurities for peace to mediate a truce or peace between the parties.

So that thoſe who, in contempt of the forty days granted to the parentage of the chief of the war, attacked them, and committed any

outrage on their perſons or goods, were treated as traitors; and, as ſuch, ſhould there have been any perſon killed, were dragged to the gallows, hanged, and their fortunes confiſcated. Should any be wounded, they were condemned to impriſonment, and to a fine, according to the pleaſure of the lord of the barony.

Bouteiller, in his ‘ Somme Rurale,’ ſays, that this delay was called ‘ La Quarantaine du Roy,’ and writes, that it was firſt inſtituted by Saint Louis, who began by this regulation to make his attack on theſe ſorts of war, inſomuch that at this period the greater part of thoſe related to the chiefs ſought for means to avoid being implicated in them. Philippe de Beaumanoir, however, attributes it to Philippes le hardy, his ſon. It is, nevertheleſs, certain that St Louis was the firſt who declared it, as may be collected from the letters of king John, of the year 1363.

It appears by this ordinance, that the chiefs of the war did not enjoy this privilege of forty days, but that they inſtantly commenced the war.

It was the ſame in reſpect to the kindred who intereſted themſelves in theſe wars before the expiration of this period, and who joined the chiefs of the war in arms: and as this ordinance was iſſued by the king, the royal judges formerly maintained that an infraction of the quarantaine, even within lordſhips of ſuperior juriſdictions, was a royal caſe.

Becauſe the relatives of each ſide were engaged in theſe wars, Philippe de Beaumanoir determines that two brothers-german could not make this cuſtomary war, and gives for reaſon that neither of them has any relations but ſuch as are common to both; and that the perſon who is equally connected with the two chiefs of the war ought not and cannot engage in it: ſo that, if two brothers had a difference, and one injured the other, he could not excuſe himſelf under pretext of the right of war; no more could any of the common relatives, who ſhould be inclined to aſſiſt one of them through friendſhip or inclination. And in ſuch caſes it was the duty of the lord rigorouſly to puniſh him who had done an injury to the other.

It would have been otherwiſe, ſays the ſame author, between two brothers by the ſame mother who might engage in this warfare, becauſe one would have relations and the other not. But in regard to relatives

common to each, they might and even ought to excuſe themſelves from interfering in the war.

With reſpect to diſtant relations, who were excuſed, or rather diſpenſed with engaging in theſe wars, they might nevertheleſs do ſo, from their own inclination, by declaring themſelves for one of the parties, either by challenge or by acts of violence. ‘ For inſtance,’ ſays Philip de Beaumanoir, ‘ if any one ſhould go to the ſuccour and be in the company of either party in arms, or if he ſhould lend him his horſes or armour, or his manſion, to aſſiſt him in his warfare with his enemy; in ſuch caſes, the relation will become a party in the war, by theſe his acts: and ſhould any diſgrace or accident befal him, he who has been the author thereof ſhall have a right to exculpate himſelf by the right of war, although he be equally a relation to both the contending parties.’

Notwithſtanding that ſuch as had been preſent at the commencement of the act of war were included as accomplices, without need of other challenges than thoſe given by the principals in the quarrel, to thoſe who had committed the injury; ſuch accomplices could, however, withdraw from interfering by ſummoning the enemy before the court of the lord, in order to deny in his preſence, on oath, having ever conſented to the miſdeed that had cauſed the war, making at the ſame time proteſtations that he would never ſuccour, directly or indirectly, either party in the war. This oath being taken, the lord was bound to aſſure him of his perſonal ſafety only; and he was to remain in peace, unleſs the adverſe party wiſhed to charge him directly with the fact.

Among the relatives, eccleſiaſtics were excepted, in the ſame manner as monks, women, minors, and alſo baſtards, unleſs they made themſelves parties in the war by their acts.

Thoſe were alſo excepted who had retired to hoſpitals or lazar-houſes, or who were in Paleſtine or in pilgrimage at the time the war began, or ſent to foreign parts by order of the king or for the public good; becauſe it would have been unjuſt that thoſe who were in diſtant parts ſhould be attacked or killed in the places in which they might be met with, or on their travels, before they had known any thing of the war or of the challenges.

In ſuch caſe, great inconveniences might have enſued, which could not have been conſidered ſo much as matters of revenge as of diſgraceful treaſons.

In regard to women, I have ſaid they were exempted from this right of war, and were not to be comprehended among the relatives who were neceſſarily included becauſe it was a matter of arms, of which they were incapable.

Beſide thoſe of the lineage, and perſonal friends who volunteered their ſervices to one of the parties, the vaſſals and ſubjects of the principal were comprehended; and, in general, all who were bound by their tenures to do ſervice to the lord, 'cix à qui il convient faire ayde par reſon de ſignorage.' Such were the tenants on the eſtate, houſeholders on account of their rent, and thoſe bound to bodily ſervice whenever their lord went to the wars, although not connected with him by blood. So that, as long as they were in the ſuit of their lords, or aiding them, they were ſuppoſed to be at war; but when they were returned home, they could not be attacked, or found fault with for having borne arms for him, ſince on theſe occaſions they had but fulfilled their duty, which, in quality of vaſſals and ſubjects to the lord, they were bounden to do.

Such as were in the pay of either party were ſuppoſed to be at war as long as they were following, or in the company of the principals, but when they quitted them, they were out of the war, and could not lawfully be inſulted or attacked without blame accruing to thoſe who ſhould thus moleſt them.

Notwithſtanding, that gentlemen had this right of making war, they could not attack, by this means, or challenge the lord from whom they held lands: if they acted otherwiſe, they forfeited their fiefs, eſpecially if the lord who had been accuſed of treaſon or murder ſhould offer to defend himſelf by the uſual mode of juſtice, and before his peers.

Having thus treated of thoſe who began this warfare, it only remains for me, in following the method I laid down at the beginning, to ſhew by what means theſe wars were put an end to. Philippe de Beaumanoir mentions ſeveral, of which the firſt was peace. When peace was concluded, ſigned and confirmed by ſufficient ſureties and guarantees, all who had engaged in the war, as well principals as relations and friends,

were bound to preſerve it. It was not neceſſary that all the relatives of the two parties, who had been at war, ſhould be preſent at the concluſion of the peace : it was ſufficient if it were ſigned by the two principals ; and if any relation refuſed his conſent to it, the principal, to whoſe aid he had come, was to inform the other of it, and give him notice, to be on his guard againſt him : this notice was ſo eſſential, that if any accident or miſchief enſued by his failing to give it, the principal might be brought to juſtice for a breach of the peace. The principals in the war were alſo to take care that their relatives and friends abſtained from all acts of hoſtility, by giving them notice of the concluſion of a peace; for it would be no excuſe to ſay they had not had information of it. On the other hand, thoſe who ſhould declare they would not abide by the peace, could not be aſſiſted by them who had made the peace, or by thoſe of the lineage who had been at war, unleſs they ſhould, in like manner, inform the other party they would not accept of the peace, otherwiſe they might be accuſed of a breach and infraction of the peace.

Peace was made in three ways, namely, by words and deeds, by deeds without words, or by words without deeds, which is thus explained by Philippe de Beaumanoir: That perſon made peace by word and deed, who ate or drank, or was in company, with him who was his enemy, and with whom he was at war; ſo that ſhould it happen after this, that he attacked him, or did him any violence or outrage, he might be brought to juſtice as a traitor, and for having broken the peace. Peace was made by words without deeds, when any one declared in preſence of his friends and other honourable perſons, or before the judges, that he was at peace with his enemy, and that, for the future, he was deſirous of keeping it.

Thoſe who were at peace by deed without words were the relations, or of the lineage of the principals in the war, who had made peace, and who had not iſſued any ſummons to their vaſſals, nor ſent any challenges, but went and converſed with thoſe who had been their enemies ; for they, in fact, ſhewed very plainly there was not any reaſon to ſuſpect them, ſince they appeared in the eyes of each party as friends.

The treaties of peace which were made to terminate theſe cuſtomary wars were commonly admitted and enregiſtered on the regiſters of the

juſtices of the lords paramount; at leaſt I have met with one, which is inſerted in a regiſter of the chamber of accounts at Paris, containing the deciſions and judgments given in the year 1298, at the extraordinary ſeſſions held at Troyes: the judges preſent were the biſhop of Senlis, maſter Gilles Lambert, Monſieur Guillaume lord of Grancey, and Gilles de Compiegne.

The ſecond, or rather the fourth, manner of putting an end to the cuſtomary war, was by 'aſſeurement,'—the lord paramount, or the king, commanding the principals in the war, to ſwear to keep the peace reciprocally with each other, which was done as follows: One of the parties who was unwilling to go to war, or having begun it, from being the weakeſt, wiſhed to put an end to it, addreſſed himſelf to his lord, or to the lord's juſticiary, and demanded, that the party with whom he was at war, or about to commence hoſtilities, ſhould give him 'aſſeurement;' that is, an aſſurance that he would not do him any wrong perſonally, or otherwiſe, referring the cauſe of the difference, which had occaſioned the war, to what the juſtice of his lord might decide. This neither the lord nor his juſticiary could refuſe, and in conſequence he enjoined his vaſſal to give 'aſſeurement' to his opponent, who was obliged to cauſe it to be obſerved by thoſe of his lineage; inſomuch that if the aſſeurement was any way infringed, he who had broken it, and he who had given this aſſeurement, although it was proved he was not preſent at the act of infringement, might be brought before the juſtice of the lord for the breach, which was not the caſe with a truce, for the infraction of which the perſon who had done it was alone reſponſible.

In caſes of murder or aſſaſſination, the aſſeurement was demanded from the neareſt relation of the deceaſed above fifteen years old. In caſes of wounds from blows given, it was required from the perſon wounded or ſtruck. Should thoſe from whom the aſſeurement had been demanded hide or abſent themſelves, to avoid conſenting to a truce or aſſeurement, the lord was to ſummon them to appear every fortnight; and inaſmuch as there might be danger in theſe delays, he was obliged to ſet guards over him from whom the truce or aſſeurement was required; and when theſe delays were expired, ſhould he then refuſe to appear in the court of his lord, he was condemned to baniſhment. The next in kin was then applied to for an

aſſeurement; and if he refuſed to grant one, the lord took the matter into his own hands, forbidding each party to injure the other, under penalty of confiſcation of body or goods.

In caſes where the two principals in the war would neither aſk nor grant aſſeurement nor truce, the king St Louis, by his edict, ordered that all who held lands in barony, when they ſhould have knowledge of any challenges, ſhould force the parties reciprocally to grant truces or aſſeurements, under the penalties above mentioned.

The aſſeurement was reciprocal; that is to ſay, it was, as is mentioned by the 'Coûtume de Bretagne,' an aſſurance and promiſe from each party, both from him who gave and from him who demanded it, that he would do no injury to the other. Theſe acts were drawn up, and, when ſubſcribed by the parties, and their ſecurities for their due obſervance, were mutually kept on each ſide.

The aſſeurement was a dependance on the ſuperior courts of juſtice, ſo that the under juſticiary had not the right of conſtraining parties to grant a truce, or to make an aſſeurement

As then it ſolely belonged to the high juſticiaries to grant truces or aſſeurements, ſo the cognizance of their infractions, or breaches of the peace, was to be entered into by them only. The edict of St Louis ſays, 'Se ainſinc eſtoit que uns home euſt guerre à un autre, et il veniſt à la juſtice pour lui fere aſſeurer, puiſque il le requiert, il doit fere jurer à celui de qui il ſe plaint, ou fiancer, que il ne li fera domage, ne il, ne li fieu; et ſe il dedans ce, li fict domage, et il en peut eſtre prouvez, il en ſera pendus: car ce eſt appellé trive enfrainte, qui eſt un des grans trahiſons qui ſoit: et cette juſtice ſi eſt au baron.'

I find, notwithſtanding, that by an ordinance of the month of May 1287, permiſſion was confirmed to the mayor and ſheriffs of Amiens to take cognizance of breaches of aſſeurements which had been entered into before them, in oppoſition to the bailiff of Amiens, who maintained that the breach of an aſſeurement was a crime equal or ſimilar to murder, the cognizance of which did not belong to them but to the king.

A truce, or aſſeurement, was not judged to be broken by any new difference between the parties, which was unconnected with the former one

for which the truce or aſſeurement had been granted. This muſt, however, be underſtood as reſpecting the lineage of the two parties who had not pledged themſelves for the obſervance of it; for thoſe who had directly and perſonally given the truce or aſſeurement, could not renew the war, without incurring the penalty of a breach or infraction of one or other of them; but in caſes of quarrel, they were obliged to have recourſe to the uſual mode of juſtice.

The third manner of ending the war, according to Beaumanoir, was, when the parties pleaded by wager of battle, a fact, for which they might make war; that is to ſay, when they had appeared before the lord's juſticiary and he had adjudged the affair to be decided by duel. For revenge could not legally be ſought for an outrage received from an enemy by war, and by law, at the ſame time and for the ſame offence. When, therefore, complaint of a quarrel had been made to his juſticiary, the lord was in duty bound to take the matter into his own hands, forbidding either party to injure the other, and then to examine into it and adminiſter juſtice.

The fourth and laſt mode of putting an end to the war was, when vengeance had been had by law for the crime, or miſdemeanour, for which the war had been undertaken. For inſtance, if he who had killed another was apprehended by juſtice, and condemned to die by the uſual forms; in this caſe, the parentage and friends of the deceaſed, could not make war on the relatives of him who had committed the crime and miſdemeanour.

From what I have ſaid, it is ſufficiently clear, that the uſage of this cuſtomary war was not only practiſed by the firſt Gauls, but had alſo been retained by the Franks who ſucceeded them, and generally by all the northern nations who in proceſs of time eſtabliſhed it ſo powerfully in thoſe provinces and countries which they conquered in the weſtern empire, that it was very difficult to reſtrain and entirely aboliſh it. This uſage ſeems to have been grounded on the privileges granted to the nobles, in conſideration of the ſervices they had done in the conqueſts of foreign lands, as if they ought to partake of the rights of ſovereignty with the prince under whoſe banners they had conjointly gained ſo many victories. We read, nevertheleſs, that our kings have repeatedly made efforts to aboliſh the practice, whether becauſe they thought that theſe private wars impaired their authority, or that

they cauſed too much diviſion among their ſubjects, each claiming the liberty of taking vengeance for any perſonal inſults to themſelves or their relations, without uſing that moderation which ſuch caſes required. Charlemagne, who laboured hard to annihilate them, complains of theſe diſorders which were introduced into his ſtates.

It was then this emperor, who firſt endeavoured to put a ſtop to theſe diviſions by his conſtitutions; in which he orders that the counts and judges ſhall be obliged to pacify all differences that may ariſe within their counties, and to put away all cauſe of quarrel and war between his ſubjects. They were to make the guilty pay damages to thoſe who had been ill treated, to bind them, on their oaths, to make peace, and to preſerve it, enjoining the ſame judges to condemn to baniſhment all who ſhould diſobey theſe their orders.

Charles le chauve iſſued ſimilar edicts, after the example of his grandfather; but this rigour and theſe menaces of the ſovereign could not check the courſe of ſo inveterate an evil; and it was ſo much the more difficult to effect this as gentlemen were jealous of this right, it being a mark, or rather a participation, of the royal authority, ſo that they would not conſent to its aboliſhment, but on the contrary have always made ſtrenuous oppoſition when their kings were deſirous of any way abridging it, and even revolted againſt them.

It was then very important to repreſs the diſorders and inconveniences of theſe private wars, the principal effects of which were murders, thefts, pillaging, fires, all committed under this pretext.

The councils of Clermont in Auvergne in the year 1095, of Troyes in Champagne in 1107, of Rome in 1139, and laſtly that of Rheims, held in the year 1148, iſſued ſeveral decrees to remedy ſimilar proceedings.

Many princes alſo publiſhed ſevere ordinances on this ſubject; but it was St Louis, the moſt holy and pious of our kings, who laboured the moſt effectually to aboliſh the uſage of theſe cuſtomary wars, which were ſo hurtful to the kingdom that they frequently put a ſtop to all freedom of commerce: the high roads were rendered unſafe, and an end was put to all work. He not only iſſued that excellent edict reſpecting the Quarantaine, but he publiſhed another entirely to prohibit this ſort of warfare within his

kingdom. It was probably in conſequence of this edict, and of others ſimilar to it iſſued by the princes his ſucceſſors, that the king's officers of juſtice proſecuted Odoard lord of Montagu, and Erard de St Verain, gentlemen of the Nivernois, to the impriſonment of their perſons, for having appointed and fought a battle on St Denis' day in the year 1308, in which were concerned Dreux de Mello, Miles de Noyers and the dauphin of Auvergne.

But as theſe prohibitions only irritated a nobility ever jealous of its privileges, the king Philippes le bel was forced to renew them more than once in ſpite of the reſiſtance of the barons, and eſpecially in the year 1311. Three years after, the ſame king reiterated theſe prohibitions, under pretext of his wars againſt the Flemings, urging the impoſſibility of his vaſſals joining his armies when they were ſo occupied with theſe inteſtine wars.

Philippes le bel, in the firſt of theſe edicts, ſhews indeed that he was unwilling entirely to deprive gentlemen of this right, or of a hope that, at a calmer and more convenient ſeaſon, he would reſtore it to them. It is, however, probable, that theſe promiſes of our kings were ſolely meant to avoid alarming their nobles too much, and that they had determined rigorouſly to adhere to the execution of theſe edicts, which were both uſeful and profitable to thoſe who oppoſed them, and gave great comfort and eaſe to the people. They always alleged the pretext of their own wars, to prohibit their ſubjects from exerciſing that right of war which they claimed, to avenge any inſult offered to them, or to their relatives; for it was unjuſt that the king's vaſſals ſhould excuſe themſelves, on account of their private quarrels, from attending him in his armies, which they were bounden to by the terms of their fiefs. On the other hand, it was unreaſonable that, while they were ſerving their prince, their lands ſhould be invaded, or violence ſhould be done to their relations and friends.

King John, by letters dated from Paris in the month of April 1353, in conſequence of complaints being made to him, that the inhabitants of Amiens did not obſerve the law of St Louis reſpecting the quarantaine, and that, without paying attention to it, they inſtantly commenced a warfare, or rather an avenging of injuries, in which they were guilty of great exceſſes, ordered them to obſerve it in future, under heavy penalties. But after that

time, as the royal authority was daily increaſing, the ſame king iſſued other prohibitions more ſevere on this ſubject; for I have read in the regiſters of the parliament another edict, of the fifth day of October in the year 1361, by which he prohibits ‘ les deffiemens, et les coûtumes de guerroier,’ as well among the nobles as among plebeians, during peace as well as in war-time. By another, of the 17th September 1367, king Charles forbids wars among his ſubjects, notwithſtanding all cuſtom or privilege to the contrary, and orders the provoſt of Paris to puniſh ſeverely all who ſhall diſobey in this particular.

To conclude this diſſertation, and theſe remarks on ſo important a ſubject for the underſtanding our hiſtory, Jean le Cocq reports two decrees of the parliament of Paris; one in the year 1386, by which war was prohibited between the king's ſubjects, not only during war-time, but alſo during the truces. The other of the year 1395, by which an injunction was laid on the count de Perdiac and the viſcount de Carmain on the one ſide, and the lord de Barbazan in Gaſcony on the other, to make war, or to take any further meaſures towards it.

At laſt Louis XI. who has been ſaid to have freed kings from leading ſtrings, while only dauphin of Viennois, by his letters of the 10th December 1451, verified at the chamber of accounts at Grenoble, abrogated the 14th article of the liberties of Dauphiny, ‘ qui conſerve expreſſement aux nobles de cette province le droit de ſe faire la guerre, de leur propre autorité.’

A

LIST

OF

THE KNIGHTS

WHO ACCOMPANIED SAINT LOUIS IN HIS EXPEDITION TO PALESTINE.

UNDERNEATH ARE THE NAMES OF THE KNIGHTS WHO ARE TO ACCOMPANY THE KING, SAINT LOUIS, TO THE HOLY LAND, AND THE TERMS OF AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BETWEEN THEM AND THE KING.

MONSIEUR de Valery to be of the expedition, with thirty knights. The king agrees to pay him eight thouſand livres tournois. He is to be recompenſed by the king for any loſs of horſes during the paſſage, but is not to have his meals at court; and he is to remain, he and his people, one whole year, which year is to commence from the day they diſembark from the voyage. Should it happen, either by conſent or ſtreſs of bad weather, that the king and his army paſs the winter on an iſland, and that he remain behind at ſea, the year ſhall commence from the time of his arrival at winter-quarters. In regard to the payment of his knights, he is to pay them one half of their ſalaries at the commencement of the year, and the other moiety when the firſt half-year ſhall be expired. He is to

tranſport two horſes for each banneret, and one horſe for ſuch as are not of that rank: with the horſes are the boys who take care of them. The banneret to be attended by five perſons, and poor knights with two.

The conſtable will attend with fourteen knights, on the ſame terms as M. de Valery. He will receive from the king but three thouſand livres tournois.

Monſieur Florent de Varennes, the admiral, will go on the ſame conditions as above, himſelf and twelve knights, and will receive from the king three thouſand two hundred fifty-five livres tournois.

Monſieur Raoul d'Eſtrées, the marſhal, will go on ſimilar terms, himſelf and ſix knights, to receive ſixteen hundred livres tournois.

Monſieur Lancelot de St Maart, the marſhal, to go on the ſame conditions, himſelf and five knights, to receive fourteen hundred livres tournois.

Monſieur Pierre de Moleines to go with five knights on the above conditions, excepting that he and his brother in arms have their meals at court, to receive thirteen hundred livres tournois, and four hundred livres as a private gift to them both.

Monſieur Collard de Moleines to go on the ſame terms and manner as his brother.

Monſieur Gilles de la Tournelle to go himſelf and four knights on theſe ſame conditions, to receive twelve hundred livres tournois, and to eat at court.

Monſieur Mahi de Roie to go himſelf and eight knights on the above conditions, to eat at court, and to receive two thouſand livres, and two hundred livres as a private gift.

Monſieur Girard de Morbois to go himſelf and ten knights: three thouſand livres tournois.

Monſieur Raoul de Neelle, himſelf and fifteen knights: four thouſand livres tournois. He will eat at his own houſe.

Monſieur Amauri de Meulenc, himſelf and fifteen knights: on terms the ſame as the preceding.

Monſieur Anſout d'Offemont, himſelf and ten knights: two thouſand ſix hundred livres tournois, and their meals at the palace.

Monſieur Raoul le Flamant, himſelf and ſix knights: one thouſand five hundred livres tournois, and their meals at the palace.

Monſieur Baudouin de Longueval, himſelf and four knights: eleven hundred livres tournois.

Monſieur Loys de Beaujeu, himſelf and ten knights: two thouſand ſix hundred livres, and their meals at the palace.

Monſieur Jean Ville, himſelf and four knights: twelve hundred livres, and their meals at court.

Monſieur Mahi de la Tournelle, himſelf and four knights, twelve hundred livres: meals as above.

The archbiſhop of Rheims, four thouſand livres.

The biſhop of Langres the ſame.

Theſe two to be attended by thirty knights, and to be embarked on board the ſame ſhip.

Monſieur Guillaume de Courtenay, himſelf and ten knights: two thouſand two hundred livres, and their meals at court.

Monſieur Guillaume de Patay, himſelf and brother: four hundred livres, and their meals at the palace.

Monſieur Pierre de Sarz, himſelf alone: eight ſcore livres, and his meals at court.

Monſieur Robert de Bois-Gencelin, alone, on the ſame terms as the preceding.

Monſieur Eſtienne Granche, alone, on the ſame terms.

Monſieur Maci de Louë, alone, on ſimilar conditions.

Monſieur Gilles de Mailly, himſelf and ten knights: three thouſand livres, tranſport of horſes going and returning, with his meals at the palace.

Monſieur Itier de Maignac, himſelf and five knights: twelve hundred livres, tranſport of horſes, and his meals as the preceding.

Fouriers de Vernuel, himſelf and four knights: twelve hundred livres: his meals at court.

Monſieur Guillaume de Freſnes, himſelf and ten knights: two thouſand ſix hundred livres, and their meals at court.

The count de Guignes, himſelf and ten knights, on ſimilar conditions.

The count de St Paul, himſelf and thirty knights, paſſage and return of horſes: twelve thouſand livres, including food and all other things, with twelve hundred livres as a private gift.

Monſieur Lambert de Limous, himſelf and thirty knights in the pay of the king; that is to ſay, ten ſols tournois to each daily for their ſubſiſtence, the ſum of eighteen hundred and twenty-five livres.

Monſieur Girard de Campendu, himſelf and fifteen knights at the king's pay, ſubſiſting themſelves like to monſieur Lambert: two thouſand ſeven hundred thirty-ſeven livres, ten ſols.

Monſieur Raimon Aban, himſelf and five others in the pay of the king, nine hundred twelve livres, ten ſols.

Monſieur Jean de Belnes, himſelf and ten others: three thouſand livres, paſſage and return of his horſes, and meals at court.

The marſhal of Champagne will go himſelf with ten others, but will not receive any thing from the king.

Monſieur Guillard d'Arce, himſelf and five others, in the king's pay, nine hundred twelve livres, ten ſols.

Monſieur Guillaume de Flandres, himſelf and twenty others: ſix thouſand livres, paſſage and return of their horſes, and their meals at the palace.

Monſieur Aubert de Longueval, himſelf and five more: eleven hundred livres, paſſage and return of horſes, and meals at court.

KNIGHTS

OF

THE HOUSEHOLD

WHO ATTENDED THE KING, SAINT LOUIS, IN HIS EXPEDITION TO TUNIS.

Monsieur de Walery.
Ly Boutillers.
Ly Conneſtables.
Monſieur Guillaume de Flandres.
Ly ſire de Neelles.
Ly ſire de Montmoranci.
Ly ſire de Harcour.
Meſſire Jean ſes fils.
Meſſire Baudouin de Longueval.
Meſſire Lancelot ly Mareſchaux.
Meſſire Guillaume de Courtenay.
Meſſire Florent de Varennes.
Meſſire Amaury de Mellenc.
Meſſire Jean de Ville ly eſtous.
Meſſire Guillaume de Prunay.
Meſſire Raoul d'Eſtrées.
Meſſire Simon de Contes.
Ly Maiſtres des Arbaleſtriers.
Meſſire Guillaume Clignez.
Meſſire Renault de Mormant.
Meſſire Gui li Bas.
Meſſire Guinemer de Guimeri.
Meſſire Jean de Chaumes.
Meſſire Landry de Bonnay.

Meſſire Gilles de Brienon.
Meſſire Pierre de Bailly.
Meſſire Robert Sanſavoir.
Meſſire Macé de Lyons.
Meſſire Nebert de Medionne.
Meſſire Nicolas Routier.
Meſſire Pierre d'Autoil.
Meſſire Gautier Deſcoz.
Meſſire Colars de Molaines.
Meſſire Pierre de Molaines.
Meſſire Mahy de Roye.
Meſſire Jehan de Varennes.
Meſſire Simon de Falloel.
Meſſire Gilles de la Tournelle.
Meſſire Gaufr. de Rinel, ou de Clermont.
Meſſire Maurice de Craon.
Le comte de Saint Paul.
Le comte de Pontiz.
Meſſire Jean de Neelle.
Meſſire Raoul de Neelle.
Meſſire Guillaume de Minieres.
Ly mareſchaux de Champaigne.
Le comte de Soiſſons.
Meſſire Bonnables.
Meſſire Guillaume de Fiennes.
Le comte de Dreuz.
Meſſire Jean Malez.
Meſſire Guillaume de Paroy.
Meſſire Robert de Girolles.
Meſſire Lambert de Limous.
Meſſire Gautier ly Chambellant.
Meſſire Phelipes de Nemous.
Meſſire Guillaume de Centegnonville.
Meſſire Jean Painnevaire.
Meſſire Phelipes d'Autoil.

Meſſire Hue Gaignars.
Meſſire Renault Couperiaus.
Meſſire Henry ly Baacles.
Meſſire Matheu de Ron.
Meſſire Jean de Rochefort.
Meſſire Raoul Flamenz.
Meſſire Hubert Cheſnars.
Meſſire Robert de Bois-Joſſelin.
Meſſire Jean de Rivellon.
Meſſire Simon de Menon.
Meſſire Hue de Villers.
Meſſire Jean de Bebreie.
Meſſire Pierre de Bebreie.
Meſſire Renault de S. Méart.
Meſſire Pierre de Villenoive.
Meſſire Geuffroy de Boiſmenard.
Meſſire Robert de Boiſgautier.
Meſſire Jean Davion.
Meſſire Hector Dorillac.
Meſſire Renault de Precigni.
Meſſire Guillaume de Aunoy.
Meſſire Anſout d'Offemont.
Meſſire Jean de Clery.
Meſſire Amori de S. Cler.
Meſſire Johens d'Amiens.
Ly mareſchaux de Mirepoix.
Meſſire Guillaume de Coardon.
Meſſire Henry de Gaudonvillier.
Meſſire Gocerem de Lorris, Coſins.
Meſſire Neſbert de Medion.
Meſſire Jean de Chambly.
Ly feneſchaux de Champaigne.
Meſſire Engerens de Bailloil.
Meſſire Jean de Soins.
Meſſire Pierre de Loon.

Meſsire Otes de Toucy.
Meſsire Guillaume de Chaſteaunou.
Meſsire Jean Malez.
Meſsire Guillaume de Sandreville.
Meſsire Girards de Campendu.
Meſsire Pierre Rambauz, parent, l'apoſtole Climent.
Meſsire Flaſtre de Henequerque.
Meſsire Jean de Chaſtenoi.
Meſsire Pierre de Blemus.
Meſsire Eſtienne Granche.
Meſsire Jean de Soilly.
Meſsire Jean de Tornebu.
Meſsire Enfans Chevalier au Connétable.
Meſsire Pregent ly Bretons.
Meſsire Pierre de Saux.
Meſsire Jean de Beaumont.
Meſsire Gaultier ly povre Homme.
Meſsire Aufroy de Montfort.
Meſsire Gilles de Boiſſaveſnes.
Meſsire Baudouin de Wandieres.
Meſsire Raoul de Wandieres.
Meſsire Gilles de Mailly.
Meſsire Jean Britauz.
Monſieur Galerens de Yury.
Monſieur Raoul de Jupilles.
Monſieur Guitier ſes fils.
Monſieur Roger de Morteigne.
Meſsire Anguerrans de Jorni.
Meſsire Pierre de Bautru.
Meſsire Simon de Baugenci.
Meſsire Eſtienne Jaunoy.
Meſsire Vorez.
Ly Fouriers de Vernoil.
Ly Bruns ſes fils.
Meſsire Guillaume de Precigni.

EXTRACTS

FROM SUCH

ARABIAN MANUSCRIPTS

AS SPEAK OF

HISTORICAL EVENTS RELATIVE TO THE REIGN OF SAINT LOUIS.

An Extract from an Arabic Manuſcript entitled, *Eſſulouk li Marifet il Duvel il Mulouk;* that is to ſay, 'The Road to Knowledge of the Reigns of Kings.' It is the Hiſtory of the Sultans *Curdes-Eioubites*, of the Race of Saladin, and of the two Dynaſties that have reigned in Egypt; the one of Turkiſh Slaves, known under the name of *Mamelukes-Baharites*, the other of Circaſſians. This Work was compoſed by *Makriſi*, who was born in the 769th Year of the Hegira, or one hundred and twenty Years after the Expedition of St Louis.

THE ſultan Melikul-Kamil died at Damaſcus the 21ſt of the moon Regeb, in the 635th year of the Hegira*. Melikul-Adil-Scifeddin, one of his two ſons, was proclaimed on the morrow, in the ſame town, ſultan of Syria and of Egypt. He was the ſeventh king of the poſterity of the Eioubites, who deſcended from Saladin.

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* An. J. C. 1238—10th of March.

On the 17th day of the moon Ramadan, there arrived an ambaſſador from the caliph of Bagdad, who was the bearer of a ſtandard and rich robe for the ſultan, weak remnants of the vaſt authority the caliphs who ſucceeded Mahommed * formerly enjoyed, and of which the ſultans had not thought it worth their while to deprive them.

Melikul-Adil, when ſcarcely on the throne, inſtead of attending to the government of his kingdoms, gave himſelf up to all ſorts of debauchery. The grandees of the ſtate, who might have reproached him for the diſsipated life he led, were baniſhed under various pretexts, and replaced by more complaiſant miniſters. He believed he could have nothing to fear, if the troops were attached to him; and, in order to gain them, he made them great preſents, which, added to thoſe his pleaſures required, exhauſted the treaſures his father had amaſſed with ſo much difficulty.

A conduct ſo unworthy a ſovereign made him contemptible, and his ſubjects offered up vows that his brother Nedjm-Eddin would deprive him of his crown. This prince had no other wiſh, but he was afraid of entruſting a project of this nature in the hands of a fickle populace. At laſt all the orders of the ſtate, oppreſſed by the tyrannies of Melikul-Adil, called Nedjm-Eddin to the throne. He made his entry into Cairo the ninth day of the moon Chuwal, in the year 637 †, and was proclaimed ſultan of Syria and Egypt. Melikul-Adil was impriſoned, after having reigned two years and eighteen days.

Nedjm-Eddin on mounting the throne found only one ſolitary piece of gold, and one thouſand drachms of ſilver, in the public treaſury. He aſſembled the grandees of the ſtate, and thoſe in particular who had had any

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* The caliphs, ſucceſſors to Mahommed, were formerly maſters of Syria, Egypt, and in general of all the conqueſts made by the Mahommedans. Corrupted by luxury and indolence, they ſuffered Egypt and Syria to be taken from them by the Fatimites, at the time of the expedition of St Louis, and they retained Irak-Arabia. They, however, ſtill preſerved a ſhadow of power over the provinces captured from them. The ſultans of Egypt ſubmitted to a ſort of inauguration on their part, which conſiſted in the inveſtiture of a dreſs which the caliphs ſent them. This cuſtom is not yet aboliſhed: the grand ſeignior ſends a ſimilar dreſs to the Hiſpodars of Moldavia and Walachia, when he nominates them to theſe principalities.

† An. J. C. 1240. 3d May.

ſhare in the adminiſtration of the finances, under the reign of his brother, and aſked what had been their reaſons for depoſing Melikul-Adil. 'Becauſe he was a madman,' they replied. Then, addreſsing himſelf to the chiefs of the law, he aſked if a madman could diſpoſe of the public money. And on their anſwering, that it was contrary to law, he ordered all who had received any ſums of money from his brother to bring them back to the treaſury, or they ſhould pay for their diſobedience with their heads. By this means, he recovered ſeven hundred and fifty-eight thouſand pieces of gold, and two millions three hundred thouſand drachms of ſilver.

In the year 638 *, Salih-Imad-Eddin, who had ſurpriſed Damaſcus, under the reign of Melikul-Adil, fearful that the new ſultan would deprive him of this unjuſt conqueſt, made an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the Franks of Syria. He gave them, the better to ſecure their ſupport, the towns of Safet † and Chakif ‡, with their territories, half of the town of Sidon §, and a part of the country of the Tiberiad ||. He added alſo the mountain of Aamileh ¶, and ſeveral other places on the ſea-ſhore, permitting them to come to Damaſcus to purchaſe arms. This alliance diſpleaſed good Muſſulmen, who were indignant to ſee Franks purchaſe arms

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* 1240. A. D.

† Safet,—a moderate ſized town in Paleſtine. It has a fortreſs which commands the lake of Tiberias, and is ſituated in 57 degrees 35 minutes longitude, 32 deg. 30 min. latitude.—*Abulfeda.*

‡ Chakif.—Abulfeda mentions two fortreſſes under the name of Chakif, Chakif-Arnoun, and Chakif-Tiroun: the firſt, partly cut in a rock, is on one of the roads leading from Sidon to Damaſcus. It is the ſecond called Tiroun, which is noticed in the text. It lies towards the ſea, in regard to Safet. Chakif-Arnoun is, in like manner, diſtant from the ſea, on the top of Lebanon.

§ Sidon,—a ſmall town in Syria, on the ſhore of the Mediterranean. It is ſituated in longitude 58 degrees 55 minutes, latitude 35 deg.—*Abulfeda.*

|| A part of Paleſtine has been thus called from the town of Tiberias, built on the ſide of a mountain near to the lake of the ſame name. The lake is 12 miles long by ſix wide, and is ſurrounded by mountains. This town was famous in former times, but Saladin, on reconquering it from the Franks, had it deſtroyed. It owes its name to the emperor Tiberius. There were in its confines many hot ſprings celebrated for the cure of different diſorders. It was but ſix miles from Tiberias to the well into which Joſeph was caſt by his brethren.—*Abulfeda.*

¶ Aamileh,—a celebrated mountain of Syria. It ſpreads eaſtwardly and ſoutherly from the ſea-ſhore as far as Tyre. It had a fortreſs on its ſummit.

in a mahommedan town, which theſe infidels might one day turn againſt the ſellers.

Salih-Imad-Eddin reſolved to make war on Egypt, and, aſſembling his troops, joined the army of the Franks. The ſultan of Egypt was informed of this movement, and ſent, in conſequence, a body of men as far as Acre. The two armies met; but the Egyptians corrupted the muſſulman ſoldiers of Damaſcus, who, according to their ſecret conventions, fled on the firſt attack, and left the Franks ſingly to bear the ſhock. They, however, made but a feeble reſiſtance: great numbers were ſlain, and the reſt, loaded with chains, were led to Cairo.

In the 640th year of the Hegira *, the Franks ſurpriſed the town of Napoulous † on a Friday, the 4th day of the moon Djemazilewel, and made ſlaves of the inhabitants, after they had plundered them of all they had, and committed all ſorts of cruelties.

The whole year of 641 (A. D. 1243) was employed in negotiations between Salih-Imad-Eddin and Nedjm-Eddin. The latter conſented to allow the former to be maſter of Damaſcus, but on condition that the town ſhould be a fief to Egypt, and that the coin ſhould be ſtruck in his name. However, as they could not agree, Imad-Eddin made another treaty with the Franks, by which he gave up to them Jeruſalem, the whole country of the Tiberiad and Aſcalon ‡.

The Franks took poſſeſsion of theſe towns, and inſtantly fortified all the caſtles in the neighbourhood of Tiberias and Aſcalon. They expelled the Muſſulmen from the moſque Akſa §, made a church of it, and hung bells in the minaret.

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* An. D. 1242. Friday 30th October.

† Napoulous,—a town in Paleſtine, anciently called Samaria. Jeroboam cauſed a temple to be built on a mountain near the town, to prevent the ten tribes from going to Jeruſalem.

‡ Aſcalon,—a town in Paleſtine, on the Mediterranean ſhore, ſix leagues from Gaza. It is built on a rock, but wants a harbour and freſh water. It was taken by the Franks in the 548th year of the Hegira, A. D. 1153. It is ſituated in 56 deg. 10 min. longitude, 32 deg. 55 min. latitude.—*Abulfeda.*

§ The name of the moſque which the Mahommedans built after the capture of Jeruſalem, on the ancient foundations of the temple of Solomon, and on the ſtone whence Jacob was

Nedjm-Eddin, on his ſide, connected himſelf with the Khareſmiens *, a people whoſe lives were paſſed in war and plunder. They haſtened from the fartheſt part of the eaſt, croſſed the Euphrates, to the amount of ten thouſand combatants, under the command of three generals. One diviſion fell upon Balbeck, and another marched to the very gates of Damaſcus, pillaging and deſtroying all that came in their way. Salih-Imad-Eddin ſhut himſelf up in Damaſcus, without attempting to ſtop the torrent that inundated his dominions. When they had deſpoiled all the country near to Damaſcus, they advanced to Jeruſalem, took it by ſtorm, and put all the Chriſtians to the ſword. The women and girls, having ſuffered every inſult from a brutal diſorderly ſoldiery, were loaded with chains. They deſtroyed the church of the holy ſepulchre; and when they found nothing among the living, to glut their rage, they opened the tombs of the Chriſtians, took out the bodies, and burnt them.

After this expedition, they marched to Gaza, and deputed ſome of their principal officers to Nedjm-Eddin. This prince careſſed them much, had them clothed in ſuperb dreſſes, and preſented them with rich ſtuffs and horſes of great value. He deſired they would halt their troops at Gaza, where he propoſed making a junction of the two armies, promiſing to march them to Damaſcus. The troops of the ſultan were ſoon ready to take the field, under the command of the emir Rukneddin-Bibars, one of his favourite ſlaves, and in whoſe bravery he wholly confided. Bibars joined the Khareſmiens at Gaza †.

ſaid to have converſed with God, and which the Muſſulmen affirm to be that which this patriarch named the gate of heaven, in conſequence of his viſion. The Chriſtians, when they conquered Jeruſalem from the Mahommedans, erected a golden croſs on the top of this temple, but Saladin, on regaining the town, made them take it down.—*D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient.*

* Khareſmiens,—a people of Khouareſm, which country is ſituated on this ſide the Gion, or Oxus, on the ſide of Khoraſſan, and a part beyond it, bounding the Mawaralnahar, or the Tranſoxane. It is bounded on the weſt and north by Turqueſtan, on the eaſt by Tranſoxane, and by Khoraſſan on the ſouth. It is five or ſix days march from the mouth of the Oxus without any town intervening. Vaſt deſerts ſurround it, and the climate is very cold. After ſeveral revolutions theſe provinces have fallen under the dominion of the Uſbecks, and at preſent form part of their ſtates.—*D'Herbelot.*—*Abulfeda.*

† Gaza,—a town in Paleſtine near the ſea. Its territory is very fertile, particularly in palm trees. It is ſituated in 56 deg. 10 min. longitude, 32 deg. latitude.—*Abulfeda.*

Imad-Eddin, on his part, raiſed troops in Damaſcus: they marched under the orders of Melik-Manſour, prince of Hemeſſe *. The Franks were likewiſe ready to take the field; and the two bodies met at Acre, when they formed but one army. Naſir-Daoud, prince of Karak †, and Zahir, ſon of Songour, alſo brought ſome ſoldiers to the prince of Damaſcus. This was the firſt time the ſtandards of the Chriſtians, on which was a croſs, were ſeen intermixed with thoſe of Muſſelmen. The Chriſtians formed the right wing, the troops of Naſir-Daoud the left, and the emir Manſour formed the centre with his Syrians.

The two armies met near to Gaza. The Khareſmiens made the firſt onſet, which was but faintly oppoſed by the Syrians, who inſtantly fled. Zahir, who commanded the left wing, being made priſoner, there only remained the Franks, who for ſome time defended themſelves, but were ſoon ſurrounded by the Khareſmiens: the greater part periſhed on this occaſion, except a few that had the good fortune to eſcape. Eight hundred priſoners were made; and there lay on the field of battle upwards of thirty thouſand dead, as well Chriſtians as Syrian-muſſulmen. Manſour returned to Damaſcus with a few ſoldiers. The Khareſmiens made an immenſe booty.

The news of this complete victory arrived at Cairo on the 15th of the moon Gémazilewel, in the year of the Hegira 642 ‡. Nedjm-Eddin was ſo delighted with it that he ordered public rejoicings to be made, and they were announced to the people by ſound of drums and trumpets. The town and the caſtle of the ſultan § were illuminated for ſeveral nights. The heads of the enemies that had been ſlain in battle were ſent to Cairo, and

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* Hemeſſe or Hems,—an ancient town, and one of the principal in Syria. It is ſituated on a plain, a mile diſtant from the river Orontes. It is the moſt fertile country of the whole province. 60 deg. 20 min. longitude, 34 deg. 20 min. latitude.—*Abulfeda.*

† Kerek or Karak,—a celebrated town on the confines of Syria, where it joins Arabia Petræa. This town formerly poſſeſſed an impregnable fortreſs, and was one of the keys to Syria. 56 deg. 50 min. longitude, 31 deg. 30 min. latitude.—*Abulfeda.*

‡ A. D. 1244. 9th October.

§ Caſtle of the ſultan.—It was the caſtle of Cairo built by the ſultan Saladin, with ſtones taken from many ſmall pyramids deſtroyed near ancient Memphis, oppoſite to old Cairo. The baſhaws, governors of Egypt, make this caſtle their reſidence. It is ſituated at the foot of the mountain of St Joſeph.

expoſed on the gates of the town. The captive Franks arrived at the ſame time, mounted on camels: as a mark of diſtinction, horſes had been given to the moſt conſiderable among them. Zahir-ben-Songour, one of the ſyrian generals that had been taken, marched next, with the other officers of the ſyrian army. They were paraded with much pomp through the town of Cairo, and then confined in priſons.

The emirs Bibars and Abouali had orders from the ſultan to lay ſiege to Aſcalon; but the place was too ſtrong, and too well defended, to be taken. Bibars remained before Aſcalon, and Abouali advanced to Napoulous.

The other generals of Nedjm-Eddin took poſſeſsion of Gaza, Jeruſalem, Khalil, Beit-Djebril * and Gaur †. Naſir-Daoud loſt nearly all his territories; for there only remained to him the fortreſs of Kerck, Belka ‡, Eſſalib § and Adjeloun.

Nedjm-Eddin had promiſed the Khareſmiens to lead them to Damaſcus; for he counted as nothing the laſt victory, if he did not regain that town; and he reſolved to make ſo important a conqueſt in perſon. The Khareſmiens followed him with joy, and Damaſcus was beſieged. Battering rams, and other machines for caſting ſtones were erected; but the beſieged made a vigorous reſiſtance, and the ſiege laſted upwards of ſix months without any breach being made. Proviſions, however, began to fail in the town; and Manſour prince of Hemeſſe had a conference with Berket, one of the khareſmien chiefs, for the ſurrender of the place. It was at length agreed that the town ſhould be ſurrendered to the ſultan, and that Imad-Eddin, Manſour and the other ſyrian chiefs, ſhould have liberty to retire with all their riches. The town of Balbeck || and all its territory were given to Imad-Eddin:

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* Beit-Djebril,—a ſmall town between Jeruſalem and Gaza.

† Gaur,—a deep valley that traverſes the country of Jourdan from the lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea.

‡ Belka, or Al-belka, is a country beyond Jordan.

§ Eſſalib, or, according to ſome authors, Eſſolet,—is a caſtle near to, but on the other ſide of Jordan. So is Adjeloun.

|| Balbeck or Heliopolis,—a town in Syria famous for the ancient monuments ſtill remaining. Its territory is one of the moſt fertile of the province. Situation, 60 deg. longitude, 35 deg. 50 min. latitude.—*Abulfeda*.

Hemeſſe and Palmyra were allotted to Manſour. The Khareſmiens, who had flattered themſelves with the hope of pillaging Damaſcus, in deſpair at being fruſtrated, quarrelled with the ſultan, and, the enſuing year, formed an alliance with Manſour and the other ſyrian leaders. They marched conjointly to the ſiege of Damaſcus, and reduced the town to the utmoſt diſtreſs from want of proviſion. The inhabitants, after they had conſumed the vileſt food, did not ſcruple to feed on the bodies of ſuch as died to preſerve their lives. Nedjm-Eddin had returned to Egypt; but he haſtened to Syria again with a numerous army, attacked the Khareſmiens, and totally defeated them in two battles.

In the year 644 *, the emir Fakreddin won from the Franks the caſtle of Tiberias and the town of Aſcalon, both of which he razed to the ground. This year was fatal to the Franks from their inteſtine diviſions.

In the year 645 †, the ſultan returned to Egypt, and paſſed through Ramlé ‡. He was there attacked with an abſceſs which turned to a fiſtula; but in ſpite of this accident, he continued his journey and arrived at Cairo. New troubles which had ariſen in Syria, called him again into that province; but having learnt at Damaſcus §, that the French were preparing to invade Egypt, he preferred defending his own kingdom in perſon. In ſpite of the violence of his ſufferings from pain, he mounted his litter, and arrived at Achmoum-Tanah ||, at the beginning of the year 647 ¶.

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* A. D. 1246.

† A. D. 1247.

‡ Ramlé. Reml ſignifies ſand. Ramla is a town ſome leagues from Jaffa or Joppa, on the road to Jeruſalem.

§ Having learnt at Damaſcus. The hiſtorian Makriſi, in his deſcription of Egypt, ſays, that in the year of the Hegira 647, (A. D. 1249) the emperor ſent an ambaſſador to the ſultan Nedjm Eddin, who was then ill at Damaſcus: that this ambaſſador was diſguiſed as a merchant, and informed the ſultan, in the name of his maſter, of the preparations of the king of France againſt Egypt. The words of the text are ‘ Imperador el Alamanié,’ emperor of the Germans, but he adds, that he reſided in the iſland of Sicily.

‖ Achmoum, or Achmoum Tanah,—a town on the Nile, and the capital of one of the provinces of Egypt called Dahkalié, 54 deg. longitude, 31 deg. 54 min. latitude.—*Abulfeda.*

¶ A. D. 1249,—in April.

As he had no doubt but that Damietta would be the firſt place attacked, he endeavoured to put it in a ſtate of defence, and formed there magazines of every ſort of proviſion, arms and ammunition. The emir Fakreddin was ordered to march toward that town, to prevent a deſcent on the coaſt. Fakreddin encamped at Gizé de Damietta, with the Nile between his camp and the town.

The diſorder of the ſultan, however, grew worſe; and he cauſed proclamation to be made, that all to whom he owed any thing ſhould preſent themſelves at his treaſury, when they would be paid *.

On Friday, the 21ſt of the moon Sefer, and in the year of the Hegira 647 (A. D. 1249, Friday 4th June), the french fleet arrived off the coaſt, at 2 o'clock of the day, filled with an innumerable body of troops under the command of Louis, ſon to Louis, king of France †. The Franks, who were maſters of Syria, had joined the French. The whole fleet anchored on the ſtrand oppoſite to the camp of Fakreddin.

The king of France, before he commenced any hoſtilities, ſent by a herald a letter to the ſultan Nedjm-Eddin, conceived in the following words:

'You are not ignorant that I am the prince of thoſe who follow the religion of Jesus Christ, as you are of thoſe who obey the laws of Mahommed. Your power inſpires me with no fear. How ſhould it? I who make the Muſſulmen in Spain tremble! I lead them as a ſhepherd does a flock of ſheep. I have made the braveſt among them periſh, and loaded their women and children with chains. They endeavour by preſents to appeaſe me, and turn my arms to another quarter. The ſoldiers who march under my ſtandards cover the plains, and my cavalry is not leſs redoubtable. You have but one method to avoid the tempeſt that threatens you. Receive prieſts, who will teach you the Chriſtian religion: embrace it, and adore

* It is one point of the mahommedan law to pay all debts before death, and thoſe who pretend to ſtrictneſs of doctrine never fail to obſerve it.

† The opinions of chronologiſts, as to the year of our Lord, which anſwers to that of the Hegira, being divided, it is not ſurpriſing that Joinville and Makriſi diſagree. Joinville fixes the expedition of St Louis in the year of our Lord 1254, Makriſi in the year of the Hegira 647, a year which, according to the tables of Greaves's, which I have followed, anſwers to the year 1249 of our Lord.

the Croſs: otherwiſe I will purſue you every where, and God ſhall decide whether you or I be maſter of Egypt.'

Nedjm-Eddin, on reading this letter, could not reſtrain his tears. He cauſed the following anſwer to be written by the cadi Behaedin, his ſecretary:

'In the name of the Omnipotent and All-merciful God, ſalvation to our prophet Mahommed and his friends. I have received your letter: it is filled with menaces, and you make a boaſt of the great number of your ſoldiers. Are you ignorant that we know the uſe of arms, and that we inherit the valour of our anceſtors? No one has ever attacked us without feeling our ſuperiority. Recollect the conqueſts we have made from the Chriſtians: we have driven them from the lands they poſſeſſed: their ſtrongeſt towns have fallen under our blows. Recal to your mind that paſſage of the Alcoran which ſays, 'thoſe who make war unjuſtly ſhall periſh;' and alſo another paſſage, 'how often have the moſt numerous armies been deſtroyed by a handful of ſoldiers.' God protects the juſt; and we have no doubt of his protection, nor that he will confound your arrogant deſigns.'

The French diſembarked on the Saturday, on the ſame ſhore where Fakreddin had made his encampment, and pitched a red tent for their king.

The Muſſulmen made ſome movements to prevent their landing; and the emirs Nedjm-Eddin and Sarimeddin were ſlain in theſe ſkirmiſhes.

At the beginning of the night the emir Fakreddin decamped with his whole army, and croſſed the bridge which leads to the eaſtern ſhore of the Nile, whereon Damietta is ſituated. He took the road to Achmoum Tanah, and by this march the French were left maſters of the weſtern bank of that river.

It is impoſſible to paint the deſpair of the inhabitants of Damietta when they ſaw the emir Fakreddin march away from their town, and abandon them to the fury of the Chriſtians. They were afraid to wait for the enemy, and quitted their town precipitately during the night. This conduct of the muſſulman general was ſo much the leſs excuſable as the garriſon was compoſed of the braveſt of the tribe of Beni-Kénané, and as

Damietta * was in a better ſtate for reſiſtance than when it was beſieged by the Franks during the reign of the ſultan Elmelikul-Kamil; for, although

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* Damietta—is ſituated a little above one of the mouths of the Nile. This river divides itſelf into two great branches at the town of Schatnouf, ſomewhat below Cairo. The weſtern branch flows by Roſetta, and there enters the ſea. When the eaſtern branch comes to the ſmall town of Djewdjer, nearly oppoſite to Manſoura, it ſubdivides itſelf into two other branches, the moſt eaſtern of which runs by Achmoum-Tanah, thence into the lake of Tinnis, which diſcharges it into the ſea. The other, which may be called the weſtern, relatively to the one preceding, takes it courſe between Damietta, and what is called the 'Gizé' of Damietta, on the weſtern bank. This arabic word ſignifies 'extremity, angle, ſhore, bank.' Damietta then, according to this ſignification, is ſituated between the two outermoſt branches of the river.

This town had been captured many times before the invaſion of St Louis. The grecian emperors made themſelves maſters of it in the 121ſt and 238th years of the Hegira, and of JESUS CHRIST 738 and 852. The ſon of Roger, king of Sicily, took it in the 550th year of the Hegira, and of our Lord 1155.

The princes croiſaders beſieged it under the reign of Salah-Uddin, or Saladin, in the 565th year of the Hegira, of our Lord 1169, for fifty-five days, without being able to take it. According to Makriſi, their fleet conſiſted of twelve hundred veſſels. Laſtly, in the 615th year of the Hegira, and of J. C. 1218, thirty-one years before the arrival of St Louis in Egypt, Damietta was beſieged by the croiſaders, during the reign of the ſultan Melikul-adil, father to Nedjm-Eddin. Their army, according to Makriſi's account, conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand cavalry, and four hundred thouſand infantry. They landed oppoſite to Damietta, on that part called the Gizé of Damietta, the ſame place where St Louis, thirty-one years after, made his deſcent. What proves this is, that this prince landed on the ſtrand where Fakreddin was encamped; now this emir had formed his camp on the ſhore, called the Gizé of Damietta, of which St Louis found himſelf maſter, by the retreat of the egyptian general. To return to the firſt ſiege of Damietta by the croiſaders: As ſoon as they were landed, they ſurrounded their camp with a deep ditch, ſurmounted by a ſtrong paliſado. There was on each ſide of the mouth of the Nile a tower, guarded by a numerous garriſon; and a thick chain was extended from one tower to the other, ſo that no veſſels could enter that branch of the Nile. The croiſaders beſieged the tower on the ſide next their camp, namely, the weſtern tower, gained it, and broke the chain.

The ſon of the ſultan, who was encamped near to Damietta, threw a bridge on the Nile, near its mouth, to prevent veſſels ſailing up it, but the Chriſtians broke the bridge down. Upon this he reſolved to choak up the mouth of the river, and cauſed ſeveral large veſſels to be ſunk at the entrance, which rendered it unnavigable. At length, after various ſucceſs, and a ſiege of ſixteen months and twenty-two days, the Franks carried the place by ſtorm, in the 616th year of the Hegira, but of our æra 1219.

This year of the Hegira 616 was fatal to the Muſſulmen, for the Franks on one ſide, and Gengis Khan on the other, put infinite numbers to the ſword: the priſoners were not leſs conſiderable. Three

plague and famine afflicted the town, the Franks could not conquer it until after ſixteen months ſiege.

On the Monday-morning (6th June 1249), the French came before the town; but, aſtoniſhed to ſee no one, they were afraid of a ſurpriſe. They were ſoon informed of the flight of its inhabitants, and, without ſtriking a blow, took poſſeſſion of this important place, and all the ammunition and proviſion they found there.

When the news of the capture of Damietta reached Cairo, the conſternation was general. They conſidered how greatly this ſucceſs would augment the courage and hopes of the French; for they had ſeen an army of Muſſulmen timorouſly fly before them, and were in poſſeſſion of an innumerable quantity of arms of all ſorts, with plenty of ammunition and proviſion. The diſorder of the ſultan, which daily grew worſe, and hindered him from acting in this critical ſtate of affairs, overwhelmed the Egyptians with deſpair. No one now longer doubted but that the kingdom would be conquered by the Chriſtians.

The ſultan, indignant at the cowardice of the garriſon, ordered fifty of the principal officers to be ſtrangled. In vain did they alledge in their defence the retreat of the emir Fakreddin: the ſultan told them they deſerved death, for having quitted Damietta without his orders. One of

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years and four months afterward, the ſultan regained Damietta by compromiſe; and this place remained in the power of the Egyptians until St Louis took it in the year of the Hegira 647, and of our æra 1249.

Two years after the departure of St Louis, during the reign of Maazeddin-Aibeck, the Turcoman, firſt ſultan of the dynaſty of Mamelukes-Baharites, or Turks, reports having gone abroad that the Franks menaced Egypt a ſecond time, it was reſolved to deſtroy Damietta, and the place was razed, ſo that no veſtige remained of it but the great moſque.

The ruin of Damietta did not remove the fears of the Egyptians; and eleven years after, during the reign of Bibars-Elbondukdari, the mouth of the Nile was ſo effectually choaked, to prevent the fleets of the Franks from entering it, that ſince then no veſſels can enter the Nile, but are forced to anchor in the road, and to load and unload their cargoes by means of flat-bottomed boats, which have been conſtructed for this purpoſe.

The preſent town of Damietta was built on the ruins of the old one, but a little higher up: it is become, by its commerce, one of the moſt conſiderable towns in Egypt, and the port for ſhips of all nations. It is ſituated in 49 deg. 35 min. longitude, 31 deg. 21 min. latitude. The ancient town was about two minutes farther north.

theſe officers, condemned to death with his ſon, requeſted to be executed firſt; but the ſultan refuſed him this favour, and the father had the miſery to ſee his ſon expire before his eyes.

After this execution, the ſultan, turning to the emir Fakreddin, aſked with an enraged tone, 'What reſiſtance have you made? what battles have you fought? You could not withſtand the Franks one hour. You ſhould have ſhewn more courage and firmneſs.' The officers of the army, fearing for Fakreddin the rage of the ſultan, made the emir underſtand by their geſtures that they were ready to maſſacre their ſovereign. Fakreddin refuſed his aſſent, and told them afterward that the ſultan could not live more than a few days; and that, if the prince wiſhed to trouble them, they were able at any time to get rid of him.

Nedjm-Eddin, notwithſtanding his melancholy ſtate, gave orders for his departure for Manſoura. He entered his boat of war *, and arrived there on Wedneſday the 25th of the moon Sefer †. He put the town in a poſture of defence by employing his whole army on this ſervice. The boats ordered by the prince before his departure arrived laden with ſoldiers, and all ſorts of ammunition. Every one able to bear arms ranged himſelf under his ſtandards, and he was joined by the Arabs in great numbers.

While the ſultan was making his preparations, the French were adding new fortifications to Damietta, and placed there a conſiderable garriſon.

On Monday, the laſt day of the moon Rebiulewel ‡, thirty-ſix Chriſtian priſoners were conducted to Cairo: they had belonged to the guard of the camp againſt the inroads of the Arabs, among whom were two knights. The fifth of the ſame moon, thirty-ſeven were ſent thither: on the ſeventh, twenty-two; and on the ſixteenth §, forty-five other priſoners, and among theſe laſt were three knights.

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* *Boat of war.*—The arabic word ſignifies properly 'fire-work boat.' Such were probably made uſe of to carry the greek fire, and the machines to throw it. Makriſi, in the hiſtory of the firſt ſiege of Damietta, ſpeaks much of theſe fire-ſhips, ſaying that the Muſſulmen made uſe of them to ſet fire to the veſſels of the Chriſtians.

† 9th June 1249.

‡ A. D. 1249, 12th July.

§ 20th, 22d, 30th June.

Different Chriſtian princes, who held lands on the coaſt of Syria, had accompanied the French, by which their places were weakened. The inhabitants of Damaſcus ſeized this opportunity to beſiege Sidon, which, after ſome reſiſtance, was forced to ſurrender. The news of this, when carried to Cairo, cauſed an exceſs of joy, and ſeemed to compenſate for the loſs of Damietta. Priſoners were made almoſt daily from the French, fifty of whom were ſent to Cairo the 18th of the moon Diemazilewel *.

The ſultan continued daily to grow worſe in health; and the phyſicians deſpaired of his recovery, for he was attacked at the ſame time by a fiſtula and an ulcer on his lungs. At length he expired, on the night of the 15th of the moon Chaban †, after having appointed as his ſucceſſor his ſon Touran-Chah. Nedjm-Eddin was forty-four years old when he died, and had reigned ten years. It was he who inſtituted that militia of ſlaves, or of Mamelukes-Baharites ‡, thus called from being quartered in the

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* 29th Auguſt 1249.

† Monday, 22d November.

‡ Melikul-Salih-Nedjm-Eddin, ſon to Melikul-Kamil the laſt but one of the princes of the dynaſty of the Eioubites, opened, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, the road to the throne to theſe ſlaves. When this prince was beſieging Napoulous, his troops timorouſly abandoned him, but the baharite ſlaves alone ſupported the enemy's charge, and gave time to Nedjm-Eddin to eſcape. From that moment this prince gave them his whole confidence. Called ſome time after by the Egyptians to be ſultan, in the place of his brother, Melikul-Adil-Seif-Eddin, he loaded theſe ſlaves with his bounties, and elevated them to the higheſt dignities. He quitted the caſtle, the uſual reſidence of the ſultans, to inhabit one which he had built in the ſmall iſland of Roudah, oppoſite to old Cairo. The baharite ſlaves had the guard of it, and thence took the name of Baharite, or Maritime, the Arabs calling all great rivers by the name of ſea, as well as the ſea itſelf. The hiſtorian Makriſi ſays, that theſe ſlaves, or Mamelukes-Baharites, amounted to eight hundred at the time of St Louis's invaſion, and that it was they who, at the battle of Manſoura, repulſed this prince, who had advanced as far as the palace of the ſultan. They contributed greatly to the laſt victory of the Egyptians over St Louis; and, as the hiſtorian remarks, after theſe two battles their name and power greatly increaſed. A ſhort time after, they aſſaſſinated Touran-Chah, the laſt prince of the dynaſty of the Eioubites, and ſeized the throne. Azeddin-Aibegh, the Turcoman, was the firſt who mounted it, and took the name of Melikul-Muez. Chegeret-Eddur, his wife, having cauſed him to be murdered, his ſon, who was twelve years old, occupied his place, but reigned only two years. Khotouz ſucceeded him. Bibars Elbondukdari, the ſame who, at the head of the Mamelukes, charged the french cavalry with ſuch fury as forced them to abandon Manſoura, aſcended this throne the 658th year of the Hegira, and of

caſtle which this prince had built in the iſland of Roudah, oppoſite to old Cairo. This militia, in courſe of time, ſeized on the throne of Egypt.

As ſoon as the ſultan had expired, the ſultana Chegeret-Eddur, his ſpouſe, ſent for the general Fakreddin and the eunuch Diemaleddin, to inform them of the death of the ſultan, and to requeſt their aſſiſtance in ſupporting the weight of government at ſuch a critical period. All three reſolved to keep the ſultan's death a ſecret, and to act in his name as if he were alive. His death was not to be made public until after the arrival of Touran-Chah, to whom were ſent meſſengers after meſſengers.

Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the French were informed of his death. Their army inſtantly quitted the plains of Damietta, and encamped at Fariſkour *. Boats laden with proviſion and ſtores came up the Nile, and kept the army abundantly ſupplied.

The emir Fakreddin ſent a letter to Cairo, to inform the inhabitants of the approach of the French, and to exhort them to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in the defence of the country. This letter was read in the pulpit † of the great moſque, and the people anſwered only with ſighs and groans. Every thing was in trouble and confuſion; and the death of the ſultan, which was ſuſpected, added to the conſternation. The moſt cowardly thought of quitting a town which they believed unable to withſtand the French; but the more courageous, on the contrary, marched to Manſoura, to join the muſſulman army.

On Tueſday, the firſt day of the moon Ramadan ‡, there were ſome trifling ſkirmiſhes between different corps of troops of each army. This, however,

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our æra 1289, and took the name of Melikul-Daher. After a glorious reign of ſeventeen years, he died at Damaſcus. This dynaſty reigned in Egypt and Syria during one hundred and thirty-ſix years, and had twenty-ſeven ſultans. The Mamelukes-Baharites were originally Turks, and had been ſold to the ſultan, Nedjm-Eddin, by merchants from Syria. The ſlaves, or Mamelukes-Circaſſians, dethroned them in their turn, in the 784th year of the Hegira, and of our æra 1382, and formed a new dynaſty, which governed Egypt until the conqueſt of that kingdom by Sultan Selim, emperor of the Turks, in the 923d year of the Hegira, A. D. 1517.

* Fariſkour,—a town ſituated on the eaſtern bank of the Nile, 13 leagues from Damietta.

† It has been cuſtomary, ſince the time of Mahommed, to aſſemble the people in the moſques, to announce to them any intereſting event. His ſucceſſors have always practiſed it.

‡ A. D. 1249, 7th December.

did not prevent the french army from encamping at Charmeſah *: the Monday following, being the 7th of the ſame moon †, the army advanced to Bermoun ‡.

On Sunday, the 13th day of the ſame moon §, the Chriſtian army appeared before the town of Manſoura ‖: the branch of the Achmoum was between it and the egyptian camp. Naſir Daoud, prince of Karak, was on the weſtern bank of the Nile with ſome troops. The French traced out their camp, ſurrounding it with a deep ditch ſurmounted by a paliſado, and erected machines to caſt ſtones at the egyptian army. Their fleet arrived at the ſame time, ſo that there were engagements on water and on land.

On Wedneſday, the 15th day of the ſame moon ¶, ſix deſerters paſſed over to the camp of the Muſſulmen, and informed them that the french army was in want of proviſion.

The day of Bairam **, a great lord, and relation to the king of France, was made priſoner. Not a day paſſed without ſkirmiſhes on both ſides, and with alternate ſucceſs. The Muſſulmen were particularly anxious to make priſoners, to gain information as to the ſtate of the enemy's army, and uſed all ſorts of ſtratagems for this purpoſe. A ſoldier from Cairo bethought himſelf of putting his head withinſide of a water-melon, the interior of which he had ſcooped out, and of thus ſwimming toward the french camp: a Chriſtian ſoldier, not ſuſpecting a trick, leaped into the Nile to ſeize the melon; but the Egyptian was a ſtout ſwimmer, and, catching hold of him, dragged him to his general ††.

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* Charmeſah,—a town ſituated on the eaſtern bank of the Nile, 42 miles from Damietta.

† 13th December 1249, A. D.

‡ Bermoun.—Small town between Damietta and Manſoura, 12 miles diſtant from the laſt place.

§ 19th December.

‖ Manſoura—is a town of Egypt ſeated on the Nile, almoſt oppoſite to Djewedjer, at the part where the eaſtern branch of this river ſubdivides itſelf into two others: one of them runs weſterly by Damietta, the other to Achmoum. The ſultan Melikul-Kamil, after the capture of Damietta by the croiſaders in the year of the Hegira 616, and of our æra 1219, had this town built between Cairo and Damietta, to check the entrance of the Franks further into Egypt. It is ſituated in longitude 53 deg. 30 min. 30 deg. 35 min. latitude.—*Makriſi.*—*Abulfeda.*

¶ Wedneſday, 21ſt December.

** The grand Bairam, the firſt day of the moon Chewal, was on Thurſday, 6th Jan. 1250.

†† The Egyptians are, at this day, perfect ſwimmers, and they exhibit extraordinary ſpecimens of their art in this line.

On Wedneſday, the 7th day of the moon Chewal *, the Muſſulmen captured a large boat, in which were one hundred ſoldiers, commanded by an officer of diſtinction. On Thurſday, the 15th of the ſame moon, the French marched out of their camp, and their cavalry began to move. The troops were ordered to file off, when a ſlight ſkirmiſh took place, and the French left on the field forty cavaliers with their horſes.

On the Friday †, ſeventy priſoners were conducted to Cairo, among whom were three lords of rank. On the 22d of the ſame moon ‡, a large boat belonging to the French took fire, which was conſidered as a fortunate omen for the Muſſulmen.

Some traitors having ſhewn the ford over the canal of Achmoum to the French, fourteen hundred cavaliers croſſed it, and fell unexpectedly on the camp of the Muſſulmen, on a Tueſday, the 15th day of the moon Zilkadé §, having at their head the brother of the king of France. The emir Fakreddin was at the time in the bath: he inſtantly quitted it with precipitation, and mounted a horſe without ſaddle or bridle, followed only by ſome ſlaves. The enemy attacked him on all ſides, but his ſlaves, like cowards, abandoned him when in the midſt of the French: it was in vain he attempted to defend himſelf: he fell pierced with wounds. The French, after the death of Fakreddin, retreated to Djédilé; but their whole cavalry advanced to Manſoura, and, having forced one of the gates, entered the town: the Muſſulmen fled to the right and left. The king of France had already penetrated as far as the ſultan's palace, and victory ſeemed ready to declare for him, when the baharite ſlaves, led by Bibars, advanced, and ſnatched it from his hands: their charge was ſo furious that the French were obliged to retreat. The french infantry, during this time, had advanced to croſs the bridge: had they been able to join their cavalry, the defeat of the egyptian army, and the loſs of the town of Manſoura, would have been inevitable.

Night ſeparated the combatants, when the French retreated in diſorder to Djédilé, after leaving fifteen hundred of their men on the field. They

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* 12th January 1250.

† 14th Jan. 1250.

‡ 27th January 1250.

§ 8th February 1250.

ſurrounded their camp with a ditch and wall, but their army was divided * into two corps: the leaſt conſiderable body was encamped on the branch of the Achmoum, and the larger on the great branch of the Nile that runs to Damietta.

A pigeon had been let looſe to fly to Cairo † the inſtant the French had ſurpriſed the camp of Fakreddin, having a note under its wing, to inform the inhabitants of this misfortune. This melancholy event had created a general conſternation in the town, which the runaways had augmented, and the gates of Cairo were kept open all the night to receive them. A ſecond pigeon, bearing the news of the victory over the French, had reſtored tranquillity to the capital. Joy ſucceeded ſorrow; and each congratulated the other on this happy turn of affairs, and public rejoicings were made.

When Touran-Chah heard of the death of his father, Nedjm-Eddin, he ſet out from Huns-Keifa ‡. It was the 15th of the moon Ramadan when he departed, attended by only fifty horſemen, and he arrived at Damaſcus toward the end of that moon. After receiving the homage of all the governors of the towns in Syria, he ſet out on a Wedneſday, the 27th day of the moon Chewal, and took the road to Egypt. The news of his arrival raiſed the courage of the Muſſulmen. The death of Nedjm-Eddin had not yet been publicly announced: the ſervice of the ſultan was performed as uſual: his officers prepared his table as if he had been alive, and every order was given in his name. The ſultana governed the kingdom, and found, in her own mind, reſources for all. The moment ſhe heard of Touran-Chah's arrival, ſhe waited on him, and laid aſide the ſovereign command, to inveſt him with it. This prince was anxious to appear at the head of his troops,

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* *Divided.*—Joinville ſpeaks of a camp ſeparate from that of the king, commanded by the count of Burgundy.

† This cuſtom is very ancient in the eaſt. Forty years ago it ſubſiſted at Aleppo, when pigeons, ſent from Scandaroon to Aleppo, gave information of the arrival of ſhips. This uſage is now entirely aboliſhed.

‡ Huns-Keifa,—a town of Diarbekir, on the banks of the Tigris, in the peninſula Ibnomar, or Miafarikein.—*Abulfeda.*

and ſet out for Manſoura, where he arrived on the fifth of the moon Zilkadé *.

Boats ſent from Damietta brought all ſorts of proviſion to the french camp, and kept it abundantly ſupplied. The Nile was now at its greateſt height †. Touran-Chah cauſed many boats to be built, which, when taken to pieces, he placed on the backs of camels, and had them thus carried to the canal of Méhalé ‡, when they were put together again, launched on the canal, and filled with troops for an ambuſcade.

As ſoon as the french fleet of boats appeared at the mouth of the canal of Méhalé, the Muſſulmen quitted their hiding-place, and attacked them. While the two fleets were engaged, other boats left Manſoura filled with ſoldiers, and fell on the rear of the French. It was in vain they ſought to eſcape by flight: a thouſand Chriſtians were killed or made priſoners.

In this defeat, fifty-two of their boats laden with proviſion were taken, and their communication with Damietta by the navigation of the Nile was cut off, ſo that within a ſhort time the whole army ſuffered the moſt terrible famine. The Muſſulmen ſurrounded them on all ſides, and they could neither advance nor retreat.

On the firſt of the moon Zilhigé §, the French ſurpriſed ſeven boats; but the troops on board had the good fortune to eſcape. In ſpite of the ſuperiority of the Egyptians on the Nile, they attempted to bring up another convoy from Damietta, but they loſt it: thirty-two of their boats were taken, and carried to Manſoura, on the 9th of the ſame moon ||. This new loſs filled the meaſure of their woes, and cauſed them to propoſe a truce, and

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* 8th February 1250.

† How could Makriſi ſay the Nile was at its greateſt height when it was only the 8th of February? and this river is never in that ſtate but in the month of September. The date is exact, and agrees with Joinville, who notices this ſame event happening on the Shrove Tueſday.

‡ Méhalé is one of the principal towns in the Delta, at a ſmall diſtance from the great eaſtern branch of the Nile. There are many canals between the Nile and Méhalé.

§ 7th March, A. D. 1250.

|| 16th ſame month.

ſend ambaſſadors to treat of it with the ſultan. The emir Zeineddin and the cadi Bedreddin were ordered to meet and confer with them, when the French offered to ſurrender Damietta *, on condition that Jeruſalem, and ſome other places in Syria, ſhould be given in exchange for it. This propoſal was rejected, and the conferences broken up.

On Friday the 27th of the moon Zilhijé †, the French ſet fire to all their machines of war and timber for building, and rendered almoſt all their boats unfit for uſe. During the night of Tueſday ‡, the 3d day of the moon Mahaſem §, in the year of the Hegira 648, the whole of the french army decamped, and took the road to Damietta. Some boats which they had

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* I return, once more, to the expedition of the croiſaders againſt Egypt, in the year of the Hegira 616; for it reſembles, in many circumſtances, that of St Louis. Damietta was firſt taken by the Chriſtians: the two frank armies encamped on the ſame ſpot. The communication between Damietta and their camp was cut off: they were both reduced to the laſt extremity; and theſe two invaſions ended by the reſtoration of Damietta. To judge better of the compariſon, we muſt read the detail Makriſi gives of this war, which laſted from the year 616 to that of 618.

The ſultan Melikul-Kimil, after the capture of Damietta by the croiſaders, retreated two days march from that town, and encamped at the angle formed by the eaſtern branch of the Achmoum, where he built the town of Manſoura. The croiſaders quitted the plains of Damietta, and encamped oppoſite to the ſultan's army, on the other ſide of the branch Achmoum.

The communication of the Chriſtian army with Damietta having been ſoon interrupted, the croiſaders offered to ſurrender that town, on condition that Jeruſalem, Aſcalon and Tiberias ſhould be given them. On the rejection of this propoſal, they were in the utmoſt danger; for the ſultan ordered his troops to croſs the branch of the Achmoum during the night, and they made an opening in the banks of the Nile, then at its greateſt height, and overflowed the whole camp of the croiſaders, excepting a narrow cauſeway. The ſultan then cauſed bridges to be thrown acroſs the branch of Achmoum, over which his troops marched, and gained poſſeſſion of the cauſeway. The croiſaders burnt their tents, their engines of war, and attempted to gain the road to Damietta, but it was impoſſible. They offered to give up that town, and peace was concluded in the year 618 of the Hegira, and 1221 of our æra.

There cannot be a doubt but that the army of St Louis was encamped on the ſame place which the croiſaders had choſen thirty-one years before, namely, near the entrance of the canal Achmoum, ſince, by their engines, the French caſt ſtones into the camp of the Muſſulmen at Manſoura. The branch of Achmoum ſeparated the two armies.

† 1ſt April 1250. A. D.

‡ Joinville dates this event on the Tueſday evening after the octave of Eaſter.

§ 5th April,—Tueſday after Low Sunday, 1250.

reſerved fell down the Nile at the ſame time. The Muſſulmen having, at break of day of the Wedneſday, perceived the retreat of the French, purſued and attacked them.

The heat of the combat was at Fariſkour. The French were defeated and put to flight: ten thouſand of their men fell on the field of battle, ſome ſay thirty thouſand. Upwards of one hundred thouſand, horſemen, infantry, tradeſpeople and others were made ſlaves. The booty was immenſe in horſes, mules, tents, and other riches. There were but one hundred ſlain on the ſide of the Muſſulmen. The baharite ſlaves, under the command of Bibars Elbondukdari, performed in this battle ſignal acts of valour. The king of France had retired, with a few of his lords, to a ſmall hillock, and ſurrendered himſelf, under promiſe of his life being ſpared, to the eunuch Djemaddelin Mahſun-Elſalihi: he was bound with a chain, and in this ſtate conducted to Manſoura, where he was confined in the houſe of Ibrahim-ben-Lokman, ſecretary to the ſultan, and under the guard of the eunuch Sahil. The king's brother was made priſoner at the ſame time, and carried to the ſame houſe. The ſultan provided for their ſubſiſtence.

The number of ſlaves was ſo great, it was embarraſſing, and the ſultan gave orders to Seifeddin-Jouſef-ben-tardi to put them to death. Every night this cruel miniſter of the vengeance of his maſter had from three to four hundred of the priſoners brought from their places of confinement, and, after he had cauſed them to be beheaded, their bodies were thrown into the Nile: in this manner periſhed one hundred thouſand of the French.

The ſultan departed from Manſoura, and went to Fariſkour, where he had pitched a moſt magnificent tent. He had alſo built a tower of wood over the Nile; and, being freed from a diſagreeable war, he there gave himſelf up to all ſorts of debauchery.

The victory he had juſt gained was ſo brilliant that he was eager to make all who were ſubjected to him acquainted with it. He wrote with his own hand a letter in the following terms, to the emir Djemal-Edden-ben-Jagmour, governor of Damaſcus:

'Thanks be given to the All-powerful, who has changed our grief to joy: it is to him alone we owe the victory. The favours he has condeſcended to ſhower upon us are innumerable, but this laſt is the moſt precious. You

will announce to the people of Damaſcus, or rather to all Muſſulmen, that God has enabled us to gain a complete victory over the Chriſtians, at the moment they had conſpired our ruin.

'On Monday, the firſt day of this year, we opened our treaſury, and diſtributed riches and arms to our faithful ſoldiers. We had called to our ſuccour the arabian tribes, and a numberleſs multitude of ſoldiers ranged themſelves under our ſtandards. On the night between Tueſday and Wedneſday, our enemies abandoned their camp with all their baggage, and marched toward Damietta: in ſpite of the obſcurity of the night, we purſued them, and thirty thouſand of them were left dead on the field, not including thoſe who precipitated themſelves into the Nile. We have beſide ſlain our very numerous priſoners, and thrown their bodies into the ſame river. Their king had retreated to Minieh: he has implored our clemency, and we have granted him his life, and paid him all the honours due to his rank. We have regained Damietta.'

The ſultan, with this letter, ſent the king's cap, which had fallen in the combat: it was of ſcarlet, lined with a fine fur. The governor of Damaſcus put the king's cap on his own head when he read to the public the ſultan's letter. A poet made theſe verſes on the occaſion:

'The cap of the French was whiter than paper: our ſabres have dyed it with the blood of the enemy, and have changed its colour.'

The gloomy and retired life the ſultan led had irritated the minds of his people. He had no confidence but in a certain number of favourites, whom he had brought with him from Huns-Keifa, and whom he had inveſted with the principal offices of the ſtate, in the room of the ancient miniſters of his father. Above all, he ſhewed a decided hatred to the Mamelukes, although they had contributed ſo greatly to the laſt victory. His debaucheries exhauſted his revenue; and, to ſupply the deficiencies, he forced the ſultana Chegeret-Eddur to render him an account of the riches of his father. The ſultana, in alarm, implored the protection of the Mamelukes, repreſenting to them the ſervices ſhe had done the ſtate in very difficult times, and the ingratitude of Touran-Chah, who was indebted to him for the crown he wore. Theſe ſlaves, already irritated againſt Touran-Chah, did not heſitate to take the part of the ſultana, and reſolved to aſſaſſinate

the prince. To execute this deſign, they fixed on the moment when he was at table: Bibars-Elbondukdari gave him the firſt blow with his ſabre, and, though he parried it with his hand, he loſt his fingers. He then fled to the tower which he had had built on the banks of the Nile, and which was but a ſhort diſtance from his tent. The conſpirators followed him, and, finding he had cloſed the door, ſet fire to it. The whole army ſaw what was paſſing; but, as he was a prince univerſally deteſted, no one came forward in his defence.

It was in vain he cried from the top of the tower, that he would abdicate his throne, and return to Huns-Keifa: the aſſaſſins were inflexible. The flames at length gaining on the tower, he attempted to leap into the Nile; but his dreſs caught as he was falling, and he remained ſome time ſuſpended in the air. In this ſtate, he received many wounds from ſabres, and then fell into the river, where he was drowned. Thus iron, fire and water, contributed to put an end to his life. His body continued three days on the bank of the Nile without any one daring to give it ſepulture. At length, the ambaſſador from the caliph of Bagdad obtained permiſſion, and had it buried.

This cruel prince, when he aſcended the throne, had his brother, Adil Chah, ſtrangled. Four mameluke ſlaves had been ordered to execute this; but the fratricide did not long remain unpuniſhed, and theſe ſame four ſlaves were the moſt bitter in putting him to death. With this prince was extinguiſhed the dynaſty of the Eioubites, who had governed Egypt eighty years, under eight different kings.

After the maſſacre of Touran-Chah, the ſultana Chegeret-Eddur was declared ſovereign of Egypt: ſhe was the firſt ſlave who had reigned over this country. This princeſs was a Turk, but others ſaid an Armenian. The ſultan Nedjm-Eddin had bought her, and loved her ſo deſperately that he carried her with him to his wars, and never quitted her. She had a ſon by the ſultan, called Khalil, but who died when very young. The emir Azeddin-Aibegh, of the turcoman nation, was appointed general of the army; and the name of the ſultana was imprinted on the coin.

The emir Abou-Ali was nominated to treat with the king of France for his ranſom, and for the ſurrender of Damietta. After many conferences and

diſputes, it was agreed that the French ſhould evacuate Damietta, and that the king, and all priſoners in Egypt, ſhould be ſet at liberty, on condition of paying down one half of ſuch ranſom as ſhould be fixed on. The king of France ſent orders to the governor of Damietta to ſurrender that town; but he refuſed to obey, and new orders were neceſſary. At laſt it was given up to the Muſſulmen, after having remained eleven months in the hands of the enemy. The king paid four hundred thouſand pieces of gold, as well for his own ranſom as for that of the queen, his brother, and the other lords that had accompanied him.

All the Franks that had been made priſoners during the reigns of the ſultans Hadil-Kamil, Salih-Nedjm-Eddin and Touran-Chah, obtained their liberty: they amounted to twelve thouſand one hundred men, and ten women. The king, with all the French, croſſed to the weſtern branch of the Nile, and embarked on a Saturday for Acre *.

The poet Eſſahib-Giémal-Edden-Ben-Matroub made, on the departure of this prince, the following verſes:

'Bear to the king of France, when you ſhall ſee him, theſe words, traced by a partiſan of truth: The death of the ſervants of the Meſſiah has been the reward given to you by God.

'You have landed in Egypt, thinking to take poſſeſſion of it. You have imagined that it was only peopled with cowards! you who are a drum filled with wind.

'You thought that the moment to deſtroy the Muſſulmen was arrived; and this falſe idea has ſmoothed, in your eyes, every difficulty.

'By your excellent conduct, you have abandoned your ſoldiers on the plains of Egypt, and the tomb has gaped under their feet.

'What now remains of the ſeventy thouſand who accompanied you? Dead, wounded, and priſoners!

'May God inſpire you often with ſimilar deſigns! They will cauſe the ruin of all Chriſtians, and Egypt will have no longer to dread any thing from their rage.

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* 7th May 1250. Joinville ſays the Saturday after Aſcenſion-day.

‘ Without doubt, your prieſts announced victories to you: their predictions were falſe.

‘ Refer yourſelves to a more enlightened oracle.

‘ Should the deſire of revenge urge you to return to Egypt, be aſſured the houſe of Lokman ſtill remains, that the chain is ready prepared, and the eunuch awake *.’

Great rejoicings were made at Cairo and throughout Egypt, for the reſtoration of Damietta. The army broke up its encampment, and returned to the capital, when the ſultana loaded the officers with preſents, and her liberalities extended to the meaneſt ſoldier.

The king of France †, having fortunately eſcaped from the hands of the Egyptians, reſolved to make war againſt the kingdom of Tunis. He choſe a time when a horrible famine ravaged Africa, and ſent an ambaſſador to the pope, whom the Chriſtians conſider as the vicar of the Meſſiah. This pontiff gave him permiſſion to take for the ſupport of this war the wealth of churches. He alſo ſent ambaſſadors to all the kings in Chriſtendom, to demand aſſiſtance, and to engage them to unite with him in this expedition. The kings of England, of Scotland, and of Arragon, the count of Toulouſe and many other Chriſtian princes accepted of his invitation.

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* The poet, in this ſtanza, alludes to the priſon of St Louis and the eunuch who guarded him.

† The Egyptians repented having ſuffered the king of France to eſcape from their hands, for it was commonly reported that he was meditating another war againſt Egypt. Makriſi, in the deſcription of this kingdom, ſays, that this report was renewed under the reign of Bibars-Albondukdari. This ſultan aſſembled his council, when it was reſolved, that, in order to gain acceſs to ſuccour Damietta, which had lately been rebuilt, not far from the ſcite of the ancient town, that had been ruined, a bridge ſhould be conſtructed from Kiloub to the town. Kiloub was a village two days march diſtant from Damietta, and when the Nile is at its height the road to that village is impaſſable. The emir Achoub, one of the mameluke chiefs, had the ſuperintendance of it. Thirty thouſand men were employed in building this bridge, and ſix hundred oxen tranſported materials and earth. This bridge was finiſhed in a month. It was two days march in length, and ſix horſemen could paſs it in front. This bridge, however, could not be very high, ſince it was not built over the Nile, where it would have been impoſſible to conſtruct one; and this proves it was erected on the land, and of uſe only in the time of inundations. It was rather a cauſeway than a bridge, and ſufficiently high to be above the country flooded by the Nile. Similar ones are built at this day, to prevent the land from being overflowed.

Abouabdoullah-Muhammed-Elmouſtauſir-Billah, ſon to the emir Abizikeria, then reigned at Tunis. The report of this intended expedition came to his ears, and he ſent an ambaſſador to the king of France to ſue for peace, offering eighty thouſand pieces of gold to obtain it. The king took the money, but did not the leſs carry his arms into Africa. He landed on the ſhore of the plains of Carthage, and laid ſiege to Tunis the laſt day of the moon Zilkadé, in the 668th year of the Hegira *.

His army was compoſed of thirty thouſand infantry and ſix thouſand cavalry. The ſiege laſted ſix months.

On the 15th of the month Muharſem, the firſt month of the year 669, there was a bloody battle, in which numbers were ſlain on each ſide. The Tuniſians were on the point of being deſtroyed, when the death of the king of France changed the face of affairs. The French, after this event, only thought of making peace and returning to their own country.

One Iſmäel-Erreian, an inhabitant of Tunis, made the following verſes during the ſiege:

'Frenchman, art thou ignorant that Tunis is the ſiſter of Cairo? Think on the fate that awaits thee! Thou wilt find before this town thy tomb, inſtead of the houſe of Lokman; and the two terrible angels, Munkir and Nakir, will take the place of the eunuch Sahil †.'

This king of France had a good underſtanding, but was of an artful character ‡.

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* July 21. 1270. A. D.

† *Munkir and Nakir*,—are two angels who, according to the muſſulman creed, interrogate the dead the moment they are in the grave. They begin their interrogatories with theſe words, 'Who is thy Lord?' and 'Who is thy prophet?'

‡ *Of an artful character*.—It is diſgraceful toMakriſi, otherwiſe a tolerably faithful hiſtorian, to ſuffer himſelf to be blinded by the common averſion of Muſſulmen to Chriſtians. Aboul-Mouaſſen, though a Muſſulman, renders more juſtice to St Louis, in the enſuing extract.

EXTRACT

FROM AN

ARABIAN MANUSCRIPT

ENTITLED,

'ENNUD'JIOUM USSAHIRAK FI MULOUK MASR VÉ KAHIRAH,' *that is to say, 'The fortunate Stars of the Kings of Egypt and of Cairo,' composed by Gemal-Eddin-Aboulmoassen-iousef, Son to Makar-tagri-bardi, Governor of the two Kingdoms of Damascus and Aleppo.*

IN the 646th year of the Hegira *, Salih-Nedjm-Eddin, a prince of the race of the Eioubites, reigned in Egypt. He was at war with the ſultan of Aleppo for the town of Hems, and beſieged that place in perſon. Thirteen battering rams, one of which was of a moſt extraordinary ſize, battered the town day and night; and he expected to be ſoon maſter of the place, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, for it was during the winter that he carried on this ſiege. Hems was hard preſſed; but the ſultan of Egypt hearing that the Franks threatened to invade his kingdom, this intelligence, added to the infirm ſtate of his health, made him liſten to propoſitions for peace. It was concluded, and he ſet out in a litter for Egypt, and arrived

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* A. D. 1248.

at Achmoum-Tanah at the commencement of the 647th year of the Hegira.

The reports he had heard of the intended expedition of the Franks was confirmed by the intelligence that the french fleet had wintered at Cyprus, and that it had on board an immenſe army, commanded by the king of France, one of the moſt powerful monarchs of Chriſtendom, and the moſt courageous prince of his time.

Nedjm-Eddin, convinced that the firſt effort of the Chriſtians would be directed againſt Damietta, provided it with ammunition and proviſion, and placed in it a numerous garriſon. Fakreddin, general of his army, covered the town with a body of troops.

The french fleet at length appeared, in the month of Sefer, and anchored oppoſite to the camp of Fakreddin. On the morrow, the French diſembarked on the ground where the egyptian general was encamped, and the Chriſtians, on their landing, marched againſt him. The emirs, Nedjm Eddin and Veriri, being killed at the firſt ſhock, Fakreddin retired in diſorder, croſſed the Nile by a bridge, and retreated as far as Achmoum Tanah.

The garriſon, and inhabitants of Damietta, witneſſing the flight of the muſſulman army, were, in their turn, panic-ſtruck. They abandoned the town during the night, and on the morrow morning the French gained poſſeſſion of it without ſtriking a blow, and found therein an immenſe collection of arms, warlike engines, and proviſion of all ſorts.

The cowardly flight of Fakreddin was the cauſe of the loſs of this place, which might have made a long reſiſtance. Thirty-two years before, it had ſtood a ſiege for upwards of twelve months, although it was then neither ſo ſtrongly fortified nor ſo well proviſioned.

The ſultan, enraged at this diſaſter, cauſed the whole garriſon to be hanged, and retreated to Manſoura. He iſſued a proclamation throughout Egypt, for all men able to bear arms to haſten to his camp, and by this means found himſelf at the head of a numerous army, compoſed of Egyptians and Arabs.

Many months paſſed in mutually obſerving, and in attempts to ſurpriſe each other; and there were daily ſkirmiſhes between different corps of the

two armies. The diſorder of the ſultan, however, was ſo much increaſed that the phyſicians deſpaired of a cure. He expired in the month of Chaban, in the year 647, after having reigned nine years, ſeven months and twenty days.

This prince would have eclipſed all his predeceſſors by his great qualities, had they not been tarniſhed by his cruelties and an inſupportable pride. Therefore, notwithſtanding the critical ſtate Egypt was then in, Nedjm Eddin was but little regretted by his ſubjects: his miniſters, courtiers and domeſtics rejoiced at the death of a prince before whom they continually trembled for their lives.

The ſultana Chegeret-Eddur governed the realm until the arrival of Touran-Chah, ſon to Nedjm-Eddin, who took poſſeſſion of the throne at the beginning of the 648th year of the Hegira. The firſt moments of the reign of this prince were a happy omen for the Muſſulmen: the day he took the command of the army, his troops gained ſome advantage over the enemy.

The French had been encamped ſome months near to Manſoura, where the Egyptians continually harraſſed them. All theſe ſkirmiſhes added to the illneſs which afflicted the Chriſtian army, and the difficulty of procuring proviſion had conſiderably diminiſhed its numbers. The mortality even affected their horſes. At length the king, ſeeing the melancholy ſtate of his army, reſolved to decamp during the night, and return to Damietta. To facilitate his retreat, he cauſed a bridge of pine trees to be thrown over the Nile; but the deſign of the French could not be ſo ſecret that the Egyptians were not acquainted with it. They croſs the ſame bridge which their enemies had done, overtake them, and, in ſpite of the darkneſs of the night, attack them.

The French, ſurrounded on all ſides, make but a feeble reſiſtance, and retire in diſorder to a village called Minieh. While this engagement takes place on land, the fleet of the Egyptians attacks that of the French on the Nile: all their boats are taken, and thoſe on board made priſoners. The king, followed by five hundred of his braveſt knights, had intrenched himſelf in the houſe of Abiabdaellah, lord of Minieh. This prince, noticing the defeat of his troops, and ſeeing reſiſtance vain, and that it

would be madneſs rather than courage, to oppoſe a whole army with ſo ſmall a company, ſent for the eunuch Rechid and the emir Seiffeddin Elkanieri, and conſented to lay down his arms, on condition that his and his companions lives were ſpared.

The Egyptians kept purſuing the French, who were all maſſacred except two knights, who leaped their horſes into the Nile, and found in the waters of that river the death they wiſhed to avoid on land. The tents and baggage became a prey to the victors, who made an immenſe booty.

The king of France was carried on board a boat of war on the Nile, and eſcorted by an infinite number of other egyptian boats, who thus conducted him in triumph to the ſound of drums and cymbals. The egyptian army was on the weſtern bank, and kept pace in its march as the fleet fell down the river. The priſoners followed the army, their hands bound with cords. The Arabs were on the eaſtern bank. Joy ſparkled in every eye, and each felicitated the other on this happy event.

Saad-Eddin relates in his hiſtory, that if the king of France had pleaſed he might have eſcaped, either on horſeback or by a boat; but this prince never abandoned his troops, nor ceaſed from animating them to the combat. Twenty thouſand were made priſoners, among whom were princes and counts, and ſeven thouſand men ſlain. The ſame hiſtorian ſays, that he went over the field of battle, which was covered with dead bodies; but what was the moſt extraordinary, there did not periſh more than one hundred Muſſulmen.

The ſultan ſent to the princes and counts who had been made priſoners fifty dreſſes, in which they clothed themſelves. The king alone diſdained to ſubmit to this cuſtom, ſaying, proudly, that he was ſovereign of a kingdom as extenſive as Egypt, and that it was unbecoming him to wear the dreſſes of another king *. The ſultan had a great feaſt prepared, and entreated him to be preſent, but the king was equally inflexible. He made no difficulty in ſhewing that he perceived nothing in all theſe attentions of the ſultan but a deſire to expoſe him as a ſpectacle for his army. This

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* This uſage of diſtributing robes ſtill ſubſiſts in the eaſt. St Louis was the more in the right not to ſubmit to this ceremony, as it is never practiſed but from a ſuperior to an inferior.

prince was of a handſome figure, was poſſeſſed of a good underſtanding, of firmneſs, and of religion. His good qualities gained him the veneration of Chriſtians, who had an extreme confidence in him.

Some hiſtorians aſſure us, that this prince was confined at Manſoura, in the houſe of Lokman, under the guard of an eunuch, who had orders to treat him with every reſpect due to a king; but others ſay, that he was conducted to Cairo, and confined in the houſe of Lokman, which laſt account ſeems to me more probable.

Touran-Chah, after the battle, cauſed all his priſoners to be maſſacred, reſerving only ſuch as, by their profeſſion or trade, might be uſeful to him. He informed the governor of Damaſcus of the victory he had juſt gained, and ſent him the cap of the king of France, which had fallen from the head of this prince in the heat of the combat. The governor put the cap on his head, and, in anſwer, ſent the following verſes to the ſultan:

'God, without doubt, deſtines the conqueſt of the univerſe to you, and you will march from victory to victory. Who can diſbelieve it, when your ſlaves already clothe themſelves with the ſpoils which you take from kings?'

The king of France remained a priſoner until the death of Touran Chah, who was aſſaſſinated by the baharite ſlaves. Huſſam-Eddin-ben-Ali was nominated to treat with the vanquiſhed prince. The conditions were, that he ſhould ſurrender Damietta, and pay the ſum of five hundred thouſand pieces of gold for his own ranſom, and that of all the other French. The king ſet out for Damietta, followed by a detachment of the egyptian army; but how great was his aſtoniſhment, when he ſaw the muſſulman banners waving over the ramparts of that town: convinced that he had been betrayed, he loſt all hope of his liberty. Huſſam-Eddin thought the ſame, and wanted to take advantage of this event, but the Turcoman, Aibegh-Elſalihi, who governed Egypt and the other baharite ſlaves, would not conſent to it. The fear of loſing the five hundred thouſand pieces of gold was the cauſe of a generoſity which was only feigned, and which they palliated under the ſpecious pretext of not infringing the fidelity due to treaties.

Huſſam-Eddin, during his conferences with the king of France, aſked him of what numbers his army was compoſed when he landed at Damietta.

He told him, that he had nine thouſand five hundred cavalry, and one hundred and thirty thouſand infantry, including workmen and ſervants.

Saad-Eddin, whom I have before quoted, relates what concerns the ſurrender of Damietta in another manner. He ſays the conditions were, that the French ſhould ſurrender Damietta, and pay the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pieces of gold, in recompenſe for all the ſtores and ammunition they had found in the town, when it was taken; and that they ſhould deliver up all the mahommedan priſoners they had made during the war. They ſwore to obſerve theſe articles, and a detachment of the army marched to take poſſeſſion of Damietta. The egyptian troops, incapable of diſcipline, entered the town as if it had been a place taken by ſtorm, and began to pillage and cut the throats of all the French they met, inſomuch that their officers were obliged to uſe force to put an end to the carnage, and drive them out of the town. The ammunition remaining was eſtimated at four hundred thouſand pieces of gold, which was deducted from the eight hundred thouſand they were to receive. The king paid down the balance of four hundred thouſand pieces of gold, and had liberty to quit Egypt. He embarked about three o'clock in the afternoon. When he was at ſea, he ſent a ſloop with an ambaſſador to the Mamelukes. On his coming to their preſence, he told them by order of the king, and in his name, that he had never known any perſons with leſs religion, gratitude or underſtanding than themſelves; that they had manifeſted their want of religion and gratitude when they maſſacred their ſultan, whoſe perſon was to them ſacred, and who was the ſon of their founder * and benefactor; that in regard to ſenſe, they had proved the want of it in releaſing for a moderate ſum a prince like him, who was maſter of the ſea, and who would have given his kingdom to have recovered his liberty.

This prince, on his return to his own country, meditated another expedition to Egypt. The Mamelukes now repented having ſuffered him to depart, but death prevented his deſigns.

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* Nedjm-Eddin, father to Touran Chah, had inſtituted this militia of baharite ſlaves.

AN

EXTRACT

FROM AN

ARABIAN MANUSCRIPT

ENTITLED,

'ELMUTHASAR FI IHBAR,' *or* '*An Abridgement of the History of the Universe.*'—*The Author of this Book is the Sultan Abulfeda, Prince of Hamah.*

THE king of France, one of the moſt powerful monarchs of Chriſtendom, wintered with his army, the 647th year of the Hegira *, in the iſland of Cyprus, and afterward appeared with his fleet before Damietta. The ſultan Nedjm-Eddin then reigned in Egypt, and had long before received information of the deſigns of the French. He had concluded that Damietta would be the firſt point of attack, and conſequently had cauſed it to be ſtrongly fortified, and well provided with ſtores, ammunition and proviſion of all ſorts.

The tribe of Beni-Kénané, renowned for its courage, formed the garriſon; but the ſultan, not ſatisfied with theſe diſpoſitions, had ſent Fakreddin at the head of a numerous body of troops to oppoſe the deſcent

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* A. D. 1249.

of the French. This general, however, on the appearance of the fleet, far from attempting to oppoſe their landing, croſſed from the weſtern to the eaſtern bank of the Nile. The whole army diſembarked the 9th of the moon Sefer, and encamped on the weſtern branch of the above river.

The arrival of the French, and the retreat of Fakreddin, filled the inhabitants of Damietta with fear : the garriſon, like cowards, abandoned the town, leaving the gates wide open. Thus this important place fell into the hands of the enemy, with all its ſtores and proviſion that had been there collected.

Nedjm-Eddin, in deſpair at the capture of Damietta, came in perſon to Manſoura to offer combat to the French, notwithſtanding the weak ſtate of his health ; for he was diſordered with a fiſtula and ulcers on his lungs, and had for ſome time dragged on a miſerable exiſtence. He ſhortly after expired, in the 40th year of his age, after having reigned nine years, eight months, and twenty days.

This prince was enterpriſing, courageous, and more occupied with the affairs of government than with his pleaſures. He would be informed of every thing himſelf, and none of his miniſters dared to act without his orders. He thought it beneath the majeſty of a ſultan to converſe with his ſubjects: of courſe, he ſpoke little. His ſervants never came into his preſence without trembling. Every affair was diſcuſſed by memorials, to which he made anſwers himſelf.

As ſoon as he was dead, the ſultana Chegeret-Eddur gave information of it to the general Fakreddin, and to the eunuch Djemal-Eddin-Muhſun. They determined to keep the death of Nedjm-Eddin ſecret, leſt this ſhould be favourable to the French, and all orders were given as uſual in the ſultan's name, juſt as if he had been alive. They diſpatched a courier to his ſon Touran-Chah, by whom Fakreddin exhorted him to haſten as quickly as poſſible to Egypt, to take poſſeſſion of the throne, and to defend it againſt the enemies who were attacking it.

Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, the news of the ſultan's death tranſpired. The French determined to take advantage of ſo favourable an event, and their whole army quitted the plains of Damietta, and marched to the neighbourhood of Manſoura, where they encamped. There was a ſmart

action between the two armies at the end of the month Ramadan, when a great number of officers, and perſons of diſtinction, on the ſide of the Muſſulmen periſhed. The French, after this combat, advanced to Charmeſah.

On Wedneſday, the 25th of the moon Zilhigé, a body of their troops, at day-break, gave alarm to Manſoura. The emir Fakreddin was at that moment in the bath. He inſtantly mounted his horſe, but was ſurrounded on all ſides, and pierced with wounds. Had it not been for the baharite ſlaves, all would have been loſt; but they rallied the runaways, and charged the French with ſuch fury that they forced them to retreat in their turn, and abandon the town.

Touran-Chah, on hearing of the death of his father, began his journey, and arrived at Damaſcus in the month Ramadan. Thence he ſet out for Manſoura, where he arrived on Thurſday, the 21ſt of the moon Zilkadé.

Scarcely a day paſſed without ſome action between the two armies: they fought with bitterneſs by land and water. The fleet of the Egyptians attacked that of the French on the Nile, and captured thirty-two boats. This loſs weakened them ſo much that they offered to ſurrender Damietta, on condition that Jeruſalem, and ſome maritime places on the coaſt of Syria, were given them in exchange. Theſe propoſitions were rejected; and, ſhortly after, their army ſuffered ſeverely from famine, in conſequence of their intercourſe with Damietta being interrupted.

At length, during the night of Wedneſday, the third day of the moon Muharem, in the year 648, they broke up their camp, and began their march back to Damietta. The Egyptians purſued, and came up with them about day-break, when they made a dreadful carnage: upwards of thirty thouſand French were left dead on the field, their king, and all the lords who had accompanied him, were made priſoners, and conducted to Manſoura. The king was loaded with chains, and confined in the houſe of Fakreddin Lokman.

Touran-Chah, after this victory, went to Fariſkour, where he had built a tower on the banks of the Nile. The baharite ſlaves, being diſcontented with this prince, aſſaſſinated him in his tent: Bibars, afterward king of Egypt, gave him the firſt blow. The prince fled to his tower; but the

conſpirators having ſet fire to it, he was forced to precipitate himſelf into the Nile, when they finiſhed putting an end to his life by piercing him with arrows.

Chegeret-Eddur was proclaimed queen of Egypt, and the Turcoman Azzeddin-Aibegh became general of the army. It was during the reign of this princeſs that the king of France treated for his ranſom. He offered to ſurrender Damietta: the articles were agreed on; and he recovered his liberty, with all the French who were priſoners in Egypt. Damietta was reſtored to the Muſſulmen on a Friday, the third day of the moon Sefer, and on the morrow the king embarked for Acre.

AN

EXTRACT

FROM AN

ARABIAN MANUSCRIPT

ENTITLED,

'LETHAIFAHBAR EL EWEL FI MEN TESSARÉFÉ FI MESR MEN ERBABIL DUVEL,' *or* '*A History of the Dynasties that have reigned in Egypt,*' *composed by Ishaki.*

THE ſultan Eſſalih-Nedjm-Eddin, ſon to Melik-Kamil, ſucceeded his brother, Adil-Aboubekr, who was dethroned the 637th year of the Hegira *, and was the laſt king but one of the dynaſty of the Eioubites.

It was during the reign of this prince that the king of France came before Damietta. Never did any conqueſt coſt leſs. The garriſon and inhabitants, panic-ſtruck, abandoned the town, and left the gates wide open. The French, aſtoniſhed to ſee no perſon ſhow himſelf on the walls, were afraid to approach, leſt there might be an ambuſcade, but being ſoon informed of the deſertion of its inhabitants, they entered the town. The

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A. D. 1239.

loſs of this place was attributed to the illneſs of the ſultan; but the cowardice of the garriſon was the ſole cauſe, and it remained not long unpuniſhed, for the ſultan, indignant at their conduct, ordered fifty of the principal officers to be ſtrangled.

Having made this example, he went to Manſoura, in ſpite of the miſerable ſtate of his health, and endeavoured to fortify the place in the beſt poſſible manner. His diſorder continued to increaſe until the 14th of the moon Ramadan, in the year 647, when he died. The arrival of the French in Egypt, and the fear leſt they ſhould take advantage of the ſultan's death to puſh forward their conqueſts, cauſed it to be kept ſecret. The ſultana Chegeret-Eddur, his ſpouſe, communicated intelligence of the event to no one but the emir Fakreddin and the eunuch Djemal-Edden-Muhſun.

A meſſenger was diſpatched to inform Touran-Chah of the death of his father, and to preſs him to come inſtantly to Egypt. The public orders continued to be iſſued in the name of Nedjm-Eddin, as if he had been alive.

The French, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, heard of the ſultan's death: they quitted Damietta, and marched to Fariſkour, where they encamped. The death of the ſultan being no longer any myſtery to thoſe from whom it was ſo much wiſhed to keep it ſecret, the inhabitants of Cairo were informed of the event, and at the ſame time told of the enemy's approach. The letter was read from the pulpit in the great moſque, when the conſternation was general, and nothing was heard but ſighs and groans. It ſeemed as if the enemy were at the gates of the town, and no one doubted but that Egypt, deprived of its king, would be a conqueſt to the Chriſtians. Troops were raiſed in Cairo, and ſent for from all parts of Egypt to the general rendezvous without the walls of the town.

The French left their poſition at Fariſkour, and marched to Charmeſah on the ſide of Barmoun, where they encamped. They then laid ſiege to the town of Manſoura: battering rams and other engines of war were pointed againſt its walls, and at day-break the beſiegers entered the place by ſurpriſe. The emir Fakreddin was then at the bath: he inſtantly quits it, mounts his horſe, and puts himſelf at the head of a body of troops to repulſe the enemy. The combat was long and obſtinate. The French were already maſters of

the greater part of the town, and their king had penetrated as far as the palace of the ſultan: had it not been for the baharite ſlaves, he would have gained it; but theſe courageous Mamelukes, who had before given proofs of their valour under Nedjm-Eddin, charged the French with ſuch impetuoſity that they threw their army into diſorder, and then put them to flight. Fifteen hundred horſemen of the enemy periſhed on this occaſion: not one would have eſcaped; but, as the battle took place in narrow and crooked ſtreets, this circumſtance favoured their retreat.

During the combat, Touran-Chah arrives, captures fifty-two of the enemy's boats, and a thouſand French are killed or made priſoners. Their army is ſoon diſtreſſed for proviſion. The Muſſulmen take advantage of their weakneſs, ſurround them on all ſides, and make a general charge. The Chriſtians offer no reſiſtance: they abandon their tents and baggage, and take to flight. Thirty thouſand were put to the ſword, not including thoſe who precipitated themſelves into the Nile and were drowned. Their king took refuge at Minieh, a village near Damietta, and ſurrendered on condition of his life being ſpared. Touran-Chah conſented to it; and this unfortunate prince was loaded with chains, and conducted to Manſoura, with his brother and many of his nobles. All theſe illuſtrious priſoners were confined in the houſe of Fakreddin-Lokman, under the guard of the eunuch Sahib.

The king of France had, when retreating, let fall his cap, which was found on the field of battle: it was of ſcarlet velvet, lined with the fur of petit-gris. The town of Damietta was reſtored, after having remained eleven months and ſeven days in the hands of the French. By means of the reſtoration of this place, the king, the queen, his brother and his nobles regained their liberty.

Scarcely was this prince returned to his own country, when he raiſed another army, croſſed over into Africa, and laid ſiege to Tunis. His death, however, delivered the Tuniſians from the danger they were in. One Iſmael-Erraian, an inhabitant of that town, made during the ſiege the verſes which have before been related. It ſeemed as if this poet had foreſeen the king's death.

The ſultan Nedjm-Eddin had built, on an iſland formed by the Nile, a fortreſs, the guard of which important place he had intruſted to turkiſh ſlaves, who were ſurnamed Baharites, or Marines, becauſe this place was on the banks of the Nile. The chief of theſe ſlaves was named Khatai.

Touran-Chah was maſſacred in the month Muharrem, of the year 647. The menaces he uſed to the ſultana, on demanding the treaſures of his father, were the cauſe of his death. The ſultana, alarmed and fearing for her life, reſolved to be beforehand, and exaſperated the baharite ſlaves againſt him. The dark, gloomy and ſuſpicious character of the ſultan had alienated the affections of all the grandees of his kingdom. The baharite ſlaves, in ſerving the reſentment of the queen, revenged their own injuries; for Touran-Chah had ſcarcely aſcended the throne, when he diſmiſſed them from all the offices they held, and ſeemed to hold them in contempt. They were not ignorant that when he was intoxicated he had candles lighted, and with his naked ſabre cut off their tops, ſaying, ‘ It is thus I intend treating the baharite ſlaves.’

They one day entered his tent with their ſabres drawn, and, the prince taking flight, they purſued, giving him ſeveral blows; but he eſcaped, and took refuge in a wooden tower on the bank of the Nile and barricaded the door. The conſpirators ſet fire to it, in ſpite of the promiſes he made them to quit his throne, and retire to Keifa. The flames conſume the tower ſo faſt that the ſultan leaps into the Nile, when theſe barbarians finiſh their murder! ſo that iron, fire and water were alternately made uſe of to put an end to his life. His body remained for three days on the bank of the river: at laſt, it received ſepulture.

After the murder of Touran-Chah, the ſultana was proclaimed queen of Egypt: the emir Azzeddin-Aibegh, of the turcoman nation, was declared generaliſſimo of the army and firſt miniſter. This princeſs, after reigning three months, voluntarily abdicated the throne; and the emir Aibegh from firſt miniſter became king, and began the dynaſty of the baharite ſlaves. When he had reigned ſeven years, the ſultana, who had married him, and laid down the crown to put it on his head, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. Aibegh had for ſome time quarrelled with her: he was

tired of having only the name of king, and of obeying all the caprices of a jealous and imperious woman. She inceſſantly and reproachfully reminded him that ſhe had placed him on the throne, and given up to him all the treaſures of the ſultan Nedjm-Eddin. She had carried her jealouſy ſo far as to force him to repudiate one of his wives, the mother of his ſon Noureddin.

Aibegh, when he ſeparated from the ſultana, had quitted the caſtle, the uſual reſidence of the kings, and had taken a palace in another quarter of Cairo, and ſhortly after had betrothed himſelf to the daughter of the prince of Mouſol. The ſultana, on hearing this, became furious, and vowed revenge againſt him: ſhe, however, diſſembled her real feelings, and ſent to him a man of confidence, under pretext of wiſhing for a reconciliation. Aibegh fell into the ſnare, and returned to the caſtle.

At the end of ſome days, the ſultana choſe the moment when this prince was in the bath, and entered it followed by five murderers: ſome ſeized him by the throat, others by thoſe parts which modeſty does not allow to be named. He endeavoured to move the ſultana, and, whether ſhe were really affected, or only feigned compaſſion for him, ſhe bade the aſſaſſins ſpare him; but they finiſhed their buſineſs, telling the ſultana, that if they gave Aibegh his life, he would revenge himſelf on her, and on them.

Noureddin, ſon of this prince by another of his wives, conceived the moſt violent hatred againſt the ſultana, and reſolved to avenge the murder of his father. By dint of gold he corrupted the private ſlaves of this princeſs, who beat her brains out with their galoches *. Her body was thrown naked into a ditch, and remained in this ſtate ſome days, when it was buried in a tomb which ſhe had cauſed to be built for herſelf during her lifetime.

The ſultan Noureddin ſucceeded to the throne of his father Aibegh, and was the ſecond ſultan of the baharite dynaſty. After a reign of two years and eight months, he was aſſaſſinated.

Elmelik-Eldaer, otherwiſe called Bibars-Elbondukdari, was the third prince of this dynaſty. He reigned with glory ſeventeen years two months

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* Galoches are a ſort of pattens which the ſlaves wear when within doors.

and a half, and died at Damaſcus. It is the ſame Bibars who, at the head of the Mamelukes, prevented the king of France from gaining Manſoura.

The ſultan Echref-Hagi was the laſt of the baharite ſlaves who ſat on the throne of Egypt. He aſcended it when ſix years old, under the tutelage of one Berkoukiel Boga, who expelled his ward, and ſeized the kingdom in the 784th year of the Hegira. He was driven from it, in his turn, and the ſultan Echref-Hagi remounted it; but, ſhortly after, diſguſted with royalty, he voluntarily abdicated the throne, when Berkouk ſucceeded him. This Berkouk began the dynaſty of the circaſſian ſlaves, which reigned in Egypt one hundred and twenty-one years, under twenty-two different kings. The laſt of this dynaſty was Toumanbey, whom the ſultan Selim, emperor of the Turks, after he had conquered all Egypt, cauſed to be hanged on one of the gates of Cairo.

AN

EXTRACT

FROM A

TURKISH MANUSCRIPT

ENTITLED,

'TEVARICHI MASR,' *that is to say,* '*Annals of Egypt*,' *composed by Salih, Son to Gelaleddin.*

IN the beginning of the 640th year of the Hegira * the French preſented themſelves before Damietta, and made themſelves maſters of it without ſtriking a blow: the garriſon and inhabitants had, in a cowardly manner, fled from the town.

Salih-Nejm-Eddin then reigned in Egypt. On the news of the capture of Damietta, he advanced to Manſoura, and there aſſembled his army. This prince had, for ſome time, been in a languiſhing ſtate of health, and expired in the midſt of his warlike preparations. The ſultana Chegeret-Eddur, his favourite ſlave, kept the ſultan's death ſecret, imparting the news of it only to ſome grandees of the court. She ſent a meſſenger to Touran-Chah, to inform him of the death of his father, who inſtantly ſet off from Huns-keifa; and the young prince arrived in forty-five days in Egypt. To be proclaimed

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* A. D. 1242. It is certain that this hiſtorian has committed an error in chronology; for every other author fixes on the 647th year of the Hegira for the expedition of St Louis to Egypt.

ſultan, to put himſelf at the head of his army, to give battle, and to gain it, were, for the new ſultan, but the affair of one day. Thirty thouſand French loſt their lives.

The cadi Gazal-Uddin was preſent at the battle. This holy perſon perceiving victory incline to the enemy, from the wind blowing in the faces of the Muſſulmen, and bringing with it ſuch a duſt as prevented their fighting, addreſſed himſelf to the wind, and cried to it with a loud voice, 'O wind, direct thy blaſt againſt our enemies!' The wind obeyed his voice, and this event contributed greatly to the victory. The king of France was made priſoner. During the combat on land, a violent ſtorm aroſe on the Nile: the boats of the French were driven againſt each other and broken, and all the troops on board drowned.

Touran-Chah did not long enjoy his victory. The baharite ſlaves murdered him, and thus ended in Egypt the dynaſty of the Eioubites. The Syrians and Egyptians had equal claims on the throne, and much blood was ſhed on both ſides: at laſt, by common aſſent, the ſultana Chegeret Eddur was declared ſovereign of Egypt. The caliph of Bagdad, indignant at the choice of the Egyptians, wrote to tell them it was a weakneſs on their part to ſuffer themſelves to be governed by a woman; and that, if there were none among themſelves worthy of the throne, they ought to have made it known to him, and he would have provided properly to fill it.

Although the French had been defeated, Damietta ſtill remained in their hands. The queen Chegeret-Eddur aſſembled her council, when it was reſolved, to offer the king and all the french priſoners their liberty, on condition that he agreed to pay for the ranſom eight hundred thouſand pieces of gold, and reſtore the town of Damietta. Peace was concluded on theſe terms, and the king ſet at liberty. This prince, on his return to France, had formed a project for another invaſion of Egypt; but death put a ſtop to his deſigns, and delivered the Egyptians from all uneaſineſs on this head.

EXPLANATIONS

RELATIVE TO

SOME CIRCUMSTANCES

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN,

PRINCE OF THE ASSASSINS.

BY M. DE L'EVESQUE DE LA RAVALIERE.

In the 16th Volume of the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions.

WHOEVER has read the hiſtory of the croiſades is acquainted with the ſovereign of a ſmall diſtrict of Phœnicia, who from the ſummit of his mountains ſeemed to exerciſe the power of life and death over the other ſovereigns of the earth: a prince the more formidable, becauſe the fanaticiſm of his ſubjects conſtituted the foundation of his power. The eaſtern writers call him 'Scheikh,' or 'Scheikh-al-gebal;' the latin hiſtorians, 'Senex,' or 'Senex de Montanis*;' the french authors, 'the old man of the mountain,'

* William of Tyre, Jacques de Vitri, and Rigord, call him 'Vetus, ſeu Senex;' Guillaume de Nangis ſometimes 'Vetulus,' at others 'Vetulus de Montanis.'

or ſimply ‘ le vieux.’ It was the title of his dignity, not the expreſſion of his age: the name of ‘ ſeigneur’ has the ſame derivation *.

William of Tyre, in the 31ſt chapter of his 20th book, deſcribes the principality of this old man of the mountain as conſiſting of ten caſtles built on inacceſſible rocks, and ſome hamlets ſcattered through the valleys which ſeparated the mountains. He reckons 60,000 ſubjects †, called ‘ Iſmaëliens’ by the eaſtern nations, ‘ Arſacides’ by Guillaume le Breton, Rigord and Nangis, ‘ Aſſiſſins’ by the archbiſhop of Tyre, ‘ Aſſaſſins’ by Jacques de Vitri.

This laſt name is the true one: it comes from the arabic word ‘ haſſa,’ to kill. It has paſſed into our language, to ſignify what in fact each of the ſubjects of this monarch was. Educated in the abominable prejudice, that they ſhould enjoy eternal happineſs if they loſt their lives in obeying the orders of their ſovereign, juſt or unjuſt, aſſaſſination was to them a duty of religion ‡.

All authors agree in attributing to them this impious dogma; but the particular facts which have been tranſmitted to us as proofs of the barbariſm of the prince, and the monſtrous ſubjection of his people, are not equally certain.

If we believe our old chroniclers, Conrad marquis of Montferrat, was killed by order of the old man of the mountain. Philippe Auguſte was, ſhortly after, menaced with a ſimilar fate. The old man ſent his aſſaſſins to France to poinard St Louis. However, M. L'Eveſque de la Ravaliere challenges the three laſt charges as falſe. His defence now follows, preceded by an expoſition of the facts.

Firſt fact.—Philippe Auguſte and Richard I. king of England having taken the croſs, ſet out in 1191 for the holy land. When they had reconquered the town of Acre from the Saracens, they thought of terminating the quarrel

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* From ‘ ſenior,’ old, which in the Latinity of the middle ages ſignified ‘ ſeignior,’ lord.

† Jacques de Vitri reduces the number to 40,000.

‡ I ſhall not here enter into any details reſpecting the country of the Aſſaſſins, the grounds of their hiſtory, nor their dogmas. M. Falconet has exhauſted theſe ſubjects in the two following diſſertations.

between Guy de Luſignan and Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, reſpecting the kingdom of Jeruſalem. Philippe favoured Conrad, and Richard took the part of Guy de Luſignan. To prevent the conſequences that might enſue from ſuch a conteſt, between two princes mutually jealous, and diſpoſed to hate each other; the impetuous character of the one, wiſhing to carry every thing, and the more moderate character of the other, being proud, and unwilling to yield any thing; a mode of conciliation was propoſed that ſeemed to ſatisfy both. This was, that Guy de Luſignan ſhould reign over the kingdom of Jeruſalem during his life, and that on his deceaſe that crown ſhould devolve on the marquis of Montferrat and his children, to the excluſion of all others. After this accommodation Philippe went to Tyre, and thence to his own kingdom. He was ſcarcely arrived in France, when he received intelligence of the death of the marquis, who, it was ſaid, had been killed in open day by the Aſſaſſins *. Richard had remained in Paleſtine: it was known that he did not love the marquis: the ſuſpicion of the murder fell on Richard, and it was firmly believed that he was the author of it, when the meaſures he took, immediately on the death of Conrad, were noticed, ſhewing clearly how much he was intereſted in the making away with him. Theſe ſuſpicions were ſpread abroad; and Richard, on his return home, paſſing through the territory of Leopold duke of Auſtria, a relation to Conrad, was arreſted, and put into the hands of the emperor Henry VI. who detained him a priſoner. It is pretended that, on this occaſion, the old man of the mountain, affected by the misfortune of Richard, wrote to duke Leopold, to accuſe himſelf of this murder, which had been unjuſtly imputed to the king of England.

M. de la Ravaliere thus tranſlates this letter from the latin text, which Nicholas de Tréveth has preſerved †, and which Rymer has publiſhed in the Fœdera ‡.

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* Alberic des Trois Fontaines, in the year 1191, ſays, ‘Ab octo haſſacinis.’ Father Daniel ſays, ‘Par deux aſſaſſiniens.’ He ſpeaks after Guillaume de Nangis and Tréveth, who ſay, ‘A duobus aſſaſſinis.’

† Spicil. d’Archer, t. 3. edit. in fol. p. 175. col. 1.

‡ Fœdera, Hague edition 1745. t. 1. p. 23. col. 1.

‘ The old man of the mountain to Leopold duke of Auſtria.

‘ Since ſeveral kings and princes beyond ſea accuſe the lord Richard, king of England, of the death of the marquis, I ſwear by the God who reigns from all eternity, and by the religion we follow, that he was no way acceſſary to his death. I will explain the true cauſe of it. One of our brethren, returning from Satalia, was driven by a tempeſt near to the town of Tyre: the marquis had him killed, and took his money. We ſent to claim his money, and to demand reſtitution for his murder. He threw the blame on Renaud de Chaſtillon, lord of Sidon: but our friends, from the exact inquiries they made, diſcovered that it was by his order the man was put to death, and robbed of his effects.

‘ We ſent to him again our deputy Eudriſe. The marquis threatened to have him caſt into the ſea; but our friends ſaved him, by forcing him inſtantly to quit the town. On his return, he certified to us the truth of theſe facts. From that moment we formed the reſolution to have the marquis ſlain; and in conſequence we ſent to Tyre two brothers, who aſſaſſinated him in preſence of all the inhabitants of the town. Such was the cauſe of his death; and we again repeat, that king Richard was no way concerned in it. Should any wrong be done him reſpecting this death, it will be unjuſtly done, and without cauſe. Know for a truth, that we never have any one put to death for his money, nor for any reward, but ſolely in revenge for any injury done to us.

‘ Know alſo, that theſe preſents have been drawn up by us, the middle of September, in our caſtle of Meſſiat, the fifteen hundred and fifth year from Alexander *.’

It is on this letter that M. de la Ravaliere ſays is founded the tradition which attributes the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, to the old man of the mountain; but it bears, he adds, ſuch viſible marks of being ſuppoſititious that the blindeſt critics ought not to have been deceived by it. In the firſt place, there is great want of probability. Is it probable that the prince of the Aſſaſſins would have avowed himſelf thus publicly the author of the aſſaſſination of Conrad, in a country where Conrad had left powerful

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* ‘ Et ſciatis quod litteras fecit iſtas in domo noſtra ad caſtellum noſtrum Meſſiat in dimidio Septembris, anno ab Alexandro milleſſimo quingenteſſimo quinto.’

friends, intereſted to avenge it? and that he would have made this declaration to the man in the world who moſt regretted the loſs of the marquis, his relation—to duke Leopold of Auſtria? To ſay, that the old man was unwilling by his ſilence to leave the king of England expoſed to an unjuſt ſuſpicion, would be preſuming too much on the delicacy of conſcience of a phœnician tyrant. Secondly, a manifeſt falſehood. The letter is dated in the month of September—a month unknown to the eaſtern nations. It is written in Latin, (for the hiſtorian who gives it us does not ſay that it was a tranſlation.) Now the latin tongue was not that of the old man: he ſpoke Arabic.

Should theſe obſervations tend to diſculpate the old man of the mountain, as M. de la Ravaliere thinks they do, who then remains charged with the death of the marquis? According to Jacques de Vitri, the marquis of Montferrat was aſſaſſinated by ſome converted Saracens, whom he had maintained for a time in his houſe. Guillaume de Nangis writes, that he was poinarded by two aſſaſſins, whom he calls 'Herſacides.' Theſe two paſſages do not clear up the point; but Albericus adds ſomething more. In naming the Aſſaſſins as the authors of the murder, he does not diſſemble that the king of England was concerned it, and leaves us only in ſuſpenſe whether Richard expreſſly ordered it, or only permitted it. 'Rex Anglorum Richardus . . . . . marquiſum Conrardum ab octo Haſſacinis interfici vel permiſit, vel perſuaſit.'

May we aſſert, that the vices which tarniſhed the brilliant qualities of Richard afford us but too much reaſon to adopt the opinion of Albericus! Richard was ſuſpected from the moment of the murder, and prior to the letter from the old man of the mountain being made public. He alone ſeems to have had any intereſt in cauſing ſuch a letter to be fabricated, in order to turn aſide all ſuſpicion from himſelf*.

We have before ſaid that Rymer has printed this letter: we add, that he has rendered it ſtill more ſuſpicious, by new marks of forgery which he

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* Father Daniel does not notice this letter, but does not the leſs poſitively ſay, that it was the old man of the mountain who had himſelf given, and cauſed to be executed, the order to put to death the marquis of Montferrat.—*Hiſt. of Phil. Aug. anno* 1192.

has inſerted. In the text of Tréveth, the letter is dated in the year 1505 from Alexander, and this date is true. The year 1505 of the æra of the Seleucidæ, otherwiſe the æra of the Greeks, which has been called by ſome the æra of Alexander *, although poſterior, by twelve years, to the death of that prince, anſwers to the year 1193 of our æra, during which Richard was detained priſoner in Germany.

In Rymer this letter is dated the fifth year of the pontificate of Alexander. 'Anno ab Alexandro papa quinto.' Was Rymer ignorant that it was not cuſtomary for the Aſſaſſins to date their acts according to the ſucceſſion of popes? and that the pope who reigned at the time this letter is ſuppoſed to have been written was not Alexander, but Celeſtinus.

Second fact.—Rigord, the hiſtorian of Philippe Auguſte, relates, that in 1192, when the king was at Pontoiſe, he received letters from Paleſtine, which brought him advice, that the old man of the mountain, at the ſolicitation of the king of England, had ſent to France two of his ſubjects, whom he names Arſacides, to aſſaſſinate him: that, upon this intelligence, Philippe inſtituted a company of guards, armed with brazen maces, who were to watch day and night, for the ſafety of his perſon: that, ſhortly afterward, he ſent to know from the old man himſelf, if what had been imputed to him was true, and that the old man, in his anſwer, had poſitively denied it.

M. de la Ravaliere inſiſts that this recital, which has been copied by all poſterior authors, is neither probable in the principal fact, nor in its concomitant circumſtances. As to the fact, it is improbable; becauſe it is not at all likely that the old man of the mountain, to whom the death of Philippe Auguſte could not have been of the ſmalleſt advantage, would have voluntarily expoſed himſelf to the vengeance which the french army, that had remained in Syria, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, would have inflicted on him for ſuch a crime.

As to the circumſtances attending it: It is incredible that Philippe Auguſte, to diſcover the truth of this crime, would have addreſſed himſelf

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* The æra of the Seleucidæ commenced the 312th year before our Lord. To 312 add 1193; the amount will be 1505.

to the very perſon accuſed of it. Secondly, Becauſe Philippe had in his army in Syria a thouſand perſons capable of privately making every inquiry he wanted, and therefore would not, for this purpoſe, have ſent extraordinary ambaſſadors. To ſend expreſſly ſuch perſons from the further parts of France to Paleſtine was advertiſing the culprit and his accomplices to be upon their guard.

The moſt eſſential part of this paſſage from Rigord is, that on account of the advice Philippe Auguſte received at Pontoiſe from Paleſtine, this prince inſtituted a company of ſergeants at arms, 'ſervientes armorum,' or, 'ſergens à maſſe,' to watch over his ſafety; and that this was the epocha of the firſt eſtabliſhment of the guard of our kings *.

M. de la Ravaliere does not puſh this matter further. It will, without doubt, be entering into his views, to concur with him in the juſtification of the old man of the mountain, whoſe defence he has ſo generouſly undertaken. Guillaume Guiart, a poetical hiſtorian, who compoſed, in 1306, 'Le Roumans, appellé la Branche des Royauls Lingnages †,' directly charges the king of England with the act which Rigord attributes to the old man of the mountain. If he is to be believed, Richard had a certain number of youths educated in the principles and belief of the Aſſaſſins; that is to ſay, in the opinion that they ought always to be ready to expoſe their lives in attacking the enemies of their ſovereign, whenever he ſhould command them, and that if they periſhed in executing his orders, the crown of martyrdom would be the reward of their blood.

‡ 'Que le roi Richart d'Angleterre
Faiſoit enfans endoctriner,
Pour lui occire et afiner §;

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* See Father Daniel, Mil. Franc. t. 11. p. 93. and the hiſtorians of the city of Paris, article Sainte Catherine, (la Culture.)

† This is the title of the work, No. 10,298. MS. in the National Library at Paris. Guillaume Guiart wrote in verſe the hiſtory of France from Philippe Auguſte to the year 1306, the time he lived. M. du Cange has printed, in his edition of Joinville, thoſe parts that concern the reign of St Louis; but the above MS. a ſmall 4to on vellum, contains the whole work. It is from ſuch parts that have not been printed we have copied what is introduced into the text.

‡ Page 39. col. 1. of the MS.

§ Put to death.

Qui ja ierent tous embarnis *
Et de telle apriſon † garnis,
Que chacun d'eux homme occeiſt,
Tel con ſon meſtre li deiſt ;
Et puis qu'il l'euſt mort rué,
Ne li chauſiſt ‡ d'eſtre tué :
Car il devoit tantôt s'§ eſtre
Selon la promeſſe du meſtre ||.'

The object of Richard, in the inſtitution of this ſchool for murder was to train up fanatics who might one day aſſaſſinate Philippe Auguſte.

' Par ceux avoit Richart béance ¶
De mettre à mort le roi de France :
Dont il fut forment ** esjoï.'

But Philippe, informed of this deſign, took proper precautions againſt a ſurpriſe, by eſtabliſhing a guard of ſergeants at mace, who watched day and night over his perſon; and this inſtitution was in force during the time Guiart lived :

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* Full,—the verb ' embarnir' or ' enbarnir,' in the romances of Merlin, Lancelot and others, ſignifies ' to increaſe.' The root may perhaps be ' ber,' ' baron,' to become a ſtrong man, like a baron.

† Inſtruction, leſſon, from the verb ' apprendre.'

‡ Care for.

§ Sains (ſanctus.)

|| In comparing this paſſage of Guiart with one in the 39th chapter of the 3d book of the chronicle of Pepin, publiſhed, for the firſt time, by Muratori, (Script. Rer. Italic. tom. 9.) we may judge that Richard, if, however, we dare credit the poet, had taken the model of his ſchool from the practice of the old man of the mountain. Pepin was a dominican monk of Boulogne, and wrote at the commencement of the fourteenth century a chronicle, that includes the hiſtory of the monarchy from our earlieſt kings to his time. Muratori obſerving, that all which preceded the year 1176 was copied from more ancient chronicles, has only printed what immediately followed that year. It ends in 1314. See the preface of the editor.

¶ Intention, deſire, hope, from the word ' béer,' ' bayer,' which is ſtill preſerved in the proverb ' Bayer aux corneilles,' to gape at crows.

** Strongly.

‘ Puis que li roi dire l’oï,
Ne fu il qu’il ne ſe feiſt,
Douteux qu’on ne le ſouprieſt,
Eſchangaitier * en toutes places,
Nuit et jour des ſergens à maces,
Soit par chaleur et par froidure.
Ceſte couſtume encore dure,
Et durra, ſi com ge pourpoſe,’ &c.

The above paſſage has appeared to us worthy of inſertion at length; for it notices a particularity which we have not met with elſewhere, and which perhaps no other author has mentioned. We ſhall not, however, do ſo great an injury to the memory of Richard as to ſuppoſe him capable of the horrible deſign Guiart imputes to him. We may perhaps believe, at the moſt, that his enemies ſpread abroad this odious report, and that the ſuſpicions that had fallen on him for the death of the marquis of Montferrat may have cauſed credit to be given to them.

The third fact related by Guillaume de Nangis, in the year 1236, is,—‘ The old man of the mountain ſent ſome Arſacides to France to murder the king St Louis; but, during the time they were on their journey thither, God changed his murderous diſpoſitions into ſentiments of peace. This prince ſent other perſons to inform the king of the danger he was in, who arrived time enough to diſcover to him the firſt meſſengers. The king loaded them with preſents, and ſent by them ſome magnificent ones to their ſovereign as teſtimonies of the peace and friendſhip he wiſhed to ſubſiſt between them.’

M. de la Ravaliere inſiſts, in the firſt place, that this recital is not leſs contrary to probability than the preceding one. On the arrival of the ſecond meſſengers, he ſays, the order to aſſaſſinate St Louis muſt either have been executed or not yet obeyed. In the firſt caſe, the advice ſent to the king to take care of himſelf was uſeleſs. Secondly, the old man of the mountain would have been very impolitic to have directly informed the king of a

* To watch.

deſign which it was his intereſt to keep ſecret; for the leaſt to be expected from it would be to fill the mind of Louis with diſtruſt and ſuſpicion, which would irritate him againſt the old man. Suppoſing this prince had conceived, and then abandoned the deſign in queſtion, it would have been enough to have ſent other meſſengers to revoke, as ſecretly as poſſible, the orders with which the former had been charged.

Theſe obſervations are judicious, but they do not amount to a demonſtration. M. de la Ravaliere, therefore, attacks this fact, by oppoſing to this paſſage of Nangis the induction drawn from another fact related by Joinville, under the year 1250. ‘ While the king reſided at Acre, meſſengers came from the old man of the mountain. The admiral (he was the chief of the embaſſy) held this diſcourſe with the king: ‘ My lord ſends me hither to demand from you, if you are acquainted with him?’ and the king replied, that he was not, for he had never ſeen him, although he had heard ſpeak of him. The admiral anſwered, ‘ I am much aſtoniſhed, that ſince you have heard ſpeak of him, you have never ſent him any ambaſſadors to retain him as a friend, as the emperor of Germany, the king of Hungary, and the ſultan of Babylon, and others do every year; for they are certain they ſhall no longer live, than as it may pleaſe my lord.’ It is not poſſible, continues M. de la Ravaliere, to reconcile the fact of 1236 with this laſt; for it reſults from it, that in 1250 St Louis was acquainted with the old man of the mountain by hearſay only, and that he had never ſent him any preſents. The teſtimony of Nangis, who relates the firſt fact, cannot balance the authority of Joinville, who tells us the ſecond. Nangis wrote the life of St Louis from memoirs which others had collected: Joinville was witneſs to the events he relates.

If there were a manifeſt contradiction in the two authors, and if it were neceſſary to chooſe between them, that choice would not be difficult: but in the ſitting of the Academy, when M. de la Ravaliere read his memoir, ſome one obſerved that Nangis and Joinville might be made to agree, by diſtinguiſhing the two facts as happening under two different princes of the Aſſaſſins. The name of the old man of the mountain was, as we have before obſerved, common to all theſe princes. If the one who

reigned in the year 1250 were no longer the ſame from whom St Louis had received letters, and to whom he had ſent preſents in 1236, St Louis might have ſaid that he was unacquainted with him; and the admiral might have complained to the king of his not having ſought to ſecure the friendſhip of his maſter by preſents.

From this remark it follows, that the criticiſm of M. de la Ravaliere on this particular fact concerning St Louis can ſcarcely be conſidered as more than an ingenious conjecture; and that the ſacred orators have not yet loſt the right of employing, in their eulogiums of the holy monarch, this famous feature ſo often celebrated by the eloquence of his panegyriſts.

A

DISSERTATION

ON

THE ASSASSINS, A PEOPLE OF ASIA.

BY M. FALCONET.

Read at the Academie des Sciences, 3d December 1743, and printed in the 17th Volume of the Memoires de l'Academie.

PART I.

M. L'Evesque de la Ravaliere read to us, ſome months ago, a diſſertation, in which he ſpeaks of the Aſſaſſins, an extract from which has been given in the preceding pages; but his chief deſign ſeems to have been to diſcuſs certain facts relative to the attempts imputed to them, on the marquis of Montferrat, on Philippe Auguſte, and on St Louis; and he clearly demonſtrates the falſehood of the opinions commonly received on this ſubject, and adopted by our beſt hiſtorians.

My diſſertation has not in view an object ſo intereſting, in regard to our nation; but it may, on the other hand, have the advantage of exciting the curioſity of thoſe who wiſh to be more thoroughly acquainted with ſo formidable and ſo famous a people. I propoſe to bring forward what every author, whether eaſtern or weſtern, ſhall have written, that may furniſh any light to the clearing up of all that concerns the origin, the religion, and the various reſidences of the Aſſaſſins. This diſcuſſion will naturally lead me to correct a great number of miſtakes which have been fallen into by moſt of thoſe who have ſpoken of them without ſufficient information *.

I ſhall not be able to give a juſt idea of the Aſſaſſins until I ſhall have compared the facts of thoſe hiſtorians who have mentioned them; but as in two different countries, ſeparated from other nations, Aſſaſſins are to be found ſubject to the ſame laws and religion, I have thought it proper to diſtinguiſh the two diviſions of this people, in regard to their different ſettlements. It has been, I believe, from want of this diſtinction, and the obſervations it will give riſe to, that the moſt able writers have had but confuſed, and ſometimes contradictory ideas reſpecting the Aſſaſſins. I ſhall relate what theſe authors have ſaid, dividing their accounts into two claſſes; the firſt of which ſhall refer to the Aſſaſſins in the more diſtant countries, on whom I ſhall ſhew the others were dependant, and then proceed to the ſecond.

The rabbi Benjamin de Tudela, and William archbiſhop of Tyre, who both lived about the middle of the 12th century, are the moſt ancient among the weſtern authors who have mentioned the Aſſaſſins. The Jew only ſpeaks of thoſe we have in view; an author, I allow, not very deſerving of belief, if he were not ſupported by thoſe I ſhall hereafter quote. He had before ſpoken of the other Aſſaſſins, but this we ſhall reſerve for the ſecond claſs.

Benjamin, in the 15th chapter of his Itinerary, reckons nine days journey from Robabdar, the country of Mobtrat; the inhabitants of which do not believe in the laws of Mohammed, and live on high mountains. They are

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* Such, particularly, who have compoſed dictionaries, wherein the word ‘ aſſaſſin’ forms an article.

ſubject to an old man who reſides in the country of the ‘ Alchaſciſchins.’ This laſt phraſe has been badly tranſlated by Conſtantin l'empereur * ; but the young M. Baratier, a prodigy of erudition when only ten years of age, has given a true verſion of it in his french tranſlation, chapter 15. note 9. printed at Amſterdam 1733, 8vo.

M. le Moine, a learned clergyman, had before corrected this miſtake, in his letter to M. Ménage, which he has inſerted under the word ‘ Arſaſſino,’ in his ‘ Origines Italiennes,’ and afterward in his ‘ Origines Françoiſes.’ The correction is juſt; but I will ſhow, hereafter, that Benjamin is miſtaken, if he intend to denote, by his expreſſion, that the Aſſaſſins were ſubject to the old man of Syria, of whom he had before been ſpeaking, as M. Baratier thus explains it.

This young author points out ſufficiently well the territory of the firſt Aſſaſſins, as being in the neighbourhood of the ancient country of the Parthians. He calls this people ‘ Mulehet:’ ‘ Alacdin,’ one of their chiefs, and ſays, that ‘ Aloano,’ great khan of the Tartars, deſtroyed them in the 13th century. I exculpate him from the disfiguring of theſe three proper names, as they may have been faults of the printer ; but I can impute to him alone the making ‘ Holagou,’ called by him ‘ Aloano,’ great khan of the Tartars. This prince was but the lieutenant of his brother Mangou Khan, at the time of his expedition againſt the Aſſaſſins. The remainder of M. Baratier's note is taken from the two following hiſtorians.

Haiton, lord of Curchi †, nephew to the king of Armenia of the ſame name, after having followed his uncle a long time in his travels, entered into the order of Premontrès, and came to France the beginning of the 14th century. He dictated to Nicolas Falconi ‡, in the town of Poitiers,

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* Seniorem ſuæ regionis Alchaſchiſchim, quaſi ſenes dicas, appellantes, p. 89. Itinerar. Benjam. à C. l'emper. Lug. Bat. 1633. 8vo.

† It is alſo written Curché, perhaps the ancient Corycus, at this day Curc, a maritime town of Cilicia, included in the kingdom of the leſſer Armenia, as it exiſted in the time of the croiſades. In the travels of Oldenburgh, it is written Cure inſtead of Curc, p. 141. des opuſc. alat. which I quote further on. I am indebted for this note to M. D'Anville, equally well verſed in the geography of all ages.

‡ Miſcalled Salconi or Salcoin by La Croix du Maine, and thoſe who have followed him.

in the year 1305, thoſe hiſtorical facts which we poſſeſs under the name of ‘ Hiſtoire Orientale.’ He relates, (in the 23d and 24th chapters) that the king Haiton went to the court of Mangou-Khan, fourth emperor of the Tartars, then contracted an alliance with him, and afterward accompanied ‘ Holagou,’ whom he calls ‘ Haolonus,’ brother to the khan, in his expedition againſt Perſia. Theſe are the words of the text: ‘ Cepitque omnes terras uſque ad terram Aſſaſſinorum: iſti vero ſunt infideles; et ad placitum eorum principis, qui Sexmontius dicebatur, morti ſe ſponte offerunt: habebant caſtrum inexpugnabile Tigado, in cujus obſidione Tartari ſteterunt per 27 annos.’ The italian tranſlation * ſays only ſeven years, ‘ ſette anni interi.’ Haiton, in his 51ſt chapter of the latin text, ſpeaks of the Aſſaſſins of Syria in the environs of ‘ Malbek,’ Balbek, the ancient Heliopolis.

Marco Polo, a Venetian, whom his father Nicholas, and his uncle Maffeo, carried with them when he was nineteen years of age, in their ſecond journey to Aſia, about the year 1270, remained a conſiderable time at the court of Coblai-Khan, ſucceſſor to Mangou-Khan, where he was enabled to gain information of every particular regarding the Aſſaſſins of whom we are ſpeaking. Marco Polo is the more worthy of belief, in that he relates, not only what he had learnt himſelf, but likewiſe all that his father and uncle had ſeen in their firſt journey to Aſia in 1250. His hiſtory is compoſed of all theſe materials, and he did not write it until he was forty-five years of age at Genoa, where he was long a priſoner †. But this author, though ſirnamed ‘ Millioni,’ for having exaggerated the riches of the eaſt, has regained his credit, ſince modern travellers daily verify what had at firſt been deemed fabulous ‡.

Marco Polo ſays then, in the 28th chapter of his firſt book, ‘ In terris illis,’ (that is to ſay, on the confines of Perſia and the Tranſoxane, then occupied by the Tartars,) ‘ regio quædam mulete dicta, ubi dominatur princeps peſſimus, Senex de Montanis,’ (he calls him afterward Aloadin) ‘ . . . . . relaturus ſum quæ audivi; legi Mahumeti addictus . . . . . .

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* Second vol. 10th chap. of the collection of ‘ Viaggi par Ramuſio.’

† This we learn from the preface to the ſecond volume of the Collection of Ramuſio.

‡ Vid. Doctor. virorum judicia in fronte editionis Andr. Mulleri.

quoſdam ſicarios, quos vulgo Aſſaſſinos vocant, ſibi adjunxit, et per illos quoſcunque volunt, occidunt.' He then ſpeaks of the delicious gardens of this prince, and the means he uſed to inſpire his ſubjects with a courage to undertake every thing. In the next chapter, which is the 29th, he ſays, that Allau (meaning Holagou) in 1262 * beſieged this tyrant in his caſtle, and, after three years, conquered it, and extirpated the nation. There are, however, many more curious particulars in the italian text, printed by Ramuſio, in his collection; and, in conſequence, Purchas holds it of higher value than the latin edition. 'Italica verſio aurea eſt, ſi cum latinâ comparetur.' This is what Ramuſio has: 'Mulehet contrada nella quale anticamente ſoleva ſtare il Vecchio della Montagna, perche queſto nome di Mulehet e come à dire luogo dove ſtanno li heretici nella lingua Saracena, e da detto luogo gli huomini ſi chiamano Mulehetini, cioe heretici della ſua lege, ſi come apreſſo li Chriſtiani Patharini.' Further on, he adds, ſpeaking of their chief, 'Havea conſtituito due ſuoi vicarii, uno della parte di Damaſco, et l'altro in Curdiſtan, che oſſervavano il medeſimo ordine,' &c.

The explanation of the word 'Mulehet,' and his two lieutenants, 'Vicarii,' are two remarkable circumſtances that I ſhall hereafter make uſe of. I would quote here the paſſages from Jacques de Vitri and Brocard, did I not reſerve them for the ſecond claſs, becauſe the Aſſaſſins of Perſia are only noticed in regard to thoſe of Syria.

We have ſcarcely any other european authors that mention the Aſſaſſins reſident in Perſia, although very many eaſtern writers ſpeak of them. Among theſe laſt, I am only perſonally acquainted with Elmacin and Abulfaragius. M. du Guignes, a young man very converſant in the Chineſe as well as in other eaſtern languages, in communicating to me extracts from Abulfeda † has informed me of ſeveral particularities of the Aſſaſſins of Perſia, which I have ſcattered through this eſſay; but I am

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* This muſt be an error of the preſs. The date is falſe. Haiton and Abulfarage place this event, of which they were witneſſes, about the year 1254.

† Theſe extracts have no connection with thoſe publiſhed by M. Schultens, at the end of the life of Saladin, as I ſhall in due time notice.

ſolely indebted to M. d'Herbelot for all that I may quote from other authors, whether Arabians or Perſians.

George Elmacin *, a Chriſtian † in the ſervice of the ſultans of Egypt, a little before ‡ the middle of the thirteenth century of our æra, ſays, in the eighth chapter of the fourth book of his ſaracenic hiſtory, in the year 483 of the Hegira (correſponding to 1090 of our æra), that the Batinéens, or Bathéniens, began to take poſſeſſion of ſeveral fortreſſes in Irak *Agemi* (Perſian), and in Dilem, or Ghilan, and among others of Roudiar: that prior to theſe events, Haſſan their chief had gained in Egypt, among the Bathéniens reſident there, a great number of followers: that after his eſtabliſhment in Perſia, in anſwer to the remonſtrances made to him by the deputy from the caliph to induce him to ſurrender, he had, in his preſence, ordered two Bathéniens, the one to ſtab himſelf, and the other to throw himſelf from the terrace, which were inſtantly done; and he added, that he had ſeventy thouſand men animated with ſimilar diſpoſitions: that he had afterwards made himſelf maſter of Alamut, which he fixed on for the ſeat of government, and of ſeveral other places.

We ſhall ſhow the conformity of theſe facts with thoſe related by the other writers we ſhall quote. We ſhall only obſerve here, that the Batinéens, or Bathéniens, are the ſame as the Aſſaſſins, as will be ſeen in the end.

Abulfaragius, primate § of the Jacobites, deſcribing in his ninth dynaſty, the expedition of Holagou, with whom he was contemporary, againſt Rucnôddin, the laſt prince of the Molhédites ‖, ſays, that Holagou having paſſed the Gihon, entered the country of this people the 653d year

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* See D'Herbelot, at the word Gergis Ben Amid.

† Prideaux's Chronological Abridgement of Arabian Authors, at the end of the life of Mohammed.

‡ What is quoted here is the ſketch of a tranſlation more exact than that of Erpénius, faulty in many places.

§ In the ſyriac tongue, it is 'Maphrianus,' which means a dignity ſuperior to that of metropolitan, but inferior to patriarch.

‖ *Molheditarum.* Pocock, the tranſlator of Abulfarage, in explanation, adds 'Schiſmaticorum.'

of the Hegira, correſponding with about the 1254th of our æra: that of fifty fortified places, there were but two that reſiſted for two years; and that at laſt Mangou Khan ordered Holagou to exterminate their whole nation.

A great number of other eaſtern writers have ſpoken of the Aſſaſſins of Perſia. I am only acquainted with them through M. d'Herbelot, but ſhall reſerve the greater part of what I have taken from his Bibliotheque Orientale, for that place in my diſſertation, when I ſhall uſe them as the moſt certain means of information as to the religion and origin of this people. I ſhall add what I have lately learnt from the works of two eaſtern authors with whom M. d'Herbelot was unacquainted, as he died ſome time before their publication.

The firſt is Bayadur-Khan, a deſcendant from Gengis-Khan, deceaſed about the middle of the ſeventeenth century. A tranſlation of his hiſtory of the Tartars was publiſhed, with notes, in 8vo, at Leyden, 1726. We read in pages 420 and 421, that Holagou, called here Halaku, at the command of his brother Mangou-Khan, entered Perſia, and put to the ſword the nation called Malahadin, with their chief, the caliph Imotaſim. I know not for what reaſon the note, contrary to the authority of the text, calls him Moadin* inſtead of Imotaſim. Is this, as well as Aloadin, a corruption of the name of the prince Alaeddin, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak? or has the name of Moadin been borrowed from Mulahaida? I learn from the notes of Thomas Hyde on Peritſol, page 156, that among many inſtances of proper names common to princes of the ſame ſtate, the name of Molhaida was that of the kings of Khotlan, which was a country adjoining to the Khoraſſan, and it was in the Khoraſſan that the impoſtor Hakem, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, eſtabliſhed the fanaticiſm of the Molhédites, before they ſettled in the Kouheſtan. I will ſhortly give the

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* It ſeems that the author of the notes gives this name to the commanders of the Aſſaſſins in Syria, in attributing to them improperly what is ſaid of thoſe in Perſia. He would have done better to have cleared up the miſtake of hiſtorians, who confound with the laſt ſcheik of the Aſſaſſins the laſt caliph of the Abaſſides, Moſtâzem, wrongly called Imotaſim, whom Holagou put to death.

true meaning of the word Molhaida, corrupted in ſo many ways, and of which there is a new corruption in the ſecond eaſtern author I ſhall quote.

Father Gaubil publiſhed in 1739 the dynaſty of the Mongouls, that is to ſay, of Gengis-Khan and his ſucceſſors, taken from the chineſe hiſtory. We find at page 126, that Mengko, the fourth emperor of the Mongouls, (that is Mangou-Khan) determined, in the year 1252, to ſend his brother Holagou, here called ‘ Hiuliehou,’ at the head of an army againſt Halifa, prince of Pahota, caliph of Bagdad; and at page 128, that Holagou, before going to the country of Kichemi *, entered the kingdom of ‘ Moulai,’ a mountainous diſtrict, and captured the town of Kitou, where he made an immenſe pillage. It is added, that the people of Moulai or Mounai were thought warlike, cruel, drunken and profligate. The notes give no elucidation on this ſubject. We cannot deny but that Moulai is the ſame word as Molahaida in the hiſtory of the Tartars, Molhet of Benjamin de Tudela, and Mulehet of Ramuſio †. We likewiſe ſee the Aſſaſſins clearly pointed out in the cruel, profligate, and warlike character before given. We alſo acknowledge, even under the chineſe name of Kitou, the fortreſs called Tigado by Haiton. Between theſe two names, there is no eſſential difference but the tranſpoſition of permutable conſonants ‡. Pahota and Bagdad have much leſs reſemblance.

I come now to the ſecond claſs of paſſages concerning the Aſſaſſins of Syria, whom I call the weſtern. I have firſt quoted Benjamin de Tudela and William of Tyre, as the earlieſt writers who have noticed them. The rabbi, prior to what I have quoted from him reſpecting the eaſtern Aſſaſſins,

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* The Chineſe thus call all countries to the weſtward of the Mongouls.

† In the 20th chapter of the Travels of Rubriquis into Tartary, he calls the mountains contiguous to the Caſpies, Muſiet or Mountains of the Aſſaſſins. Bergeron, who publiſhed the firſt edition of the above travels, adds, in the margin, ‘ Mulete,’ and yet, in his eſſay on the Tartars, § 8. he writes ‘ Muſihet,’ country of the Aſſaſſins.

‡ In Tigado and Kitou, permutation of G into K in Bagdad and Pahota, permutation of B into P and of the D into T. All mute letters are interchangeable in every language; but the Chineſe prefer theſe mutes to the meaner ones: the P for the B, C or K for G and T for D: they know not even the B nor G.

has ſaid in his ſeventh chapter, ‘ That near to Gebal (he means mount Libanus) is the people called ‘ Alchaſhiſhins,’ who are not of the religion of Mohammed : (he ſays the ſame thing of the Aſſaſſins of Molath) they follow that of a certain Canbat, whom they hold for a prophet, obeying him in all things, whether in matters of life or death, ... the place of his reſidence is the town of Karmos or Kormos, which was formerly included in the territory of Sihon. They make themſelves dreaded, becauſe they aſſaſſinate kings with a kind of ſaw. Their country is eight day's journey in extent.’

The note of M. Baratier on the above is almoſt wholly taken from William of Tyre, whoſe text, however, he has in many inſtances altered, as we ſhall ſoon ſee. He then relates the pretended hiſtory of the Aſſaſſins ſent to France to murder St Louis, which M. de la Ravaliere has ſufficiently confuted ; and he adds, that the Aſſaſſins continued in their ancient ſtate until the thirteenth century, when they were exterminated by the Tartars, as if the expedition of Holagou, about the middle of that century, and not towards the end, regarded the Aſſaſſins of Syria. The author of the notes on the hiſtory of the Tartars has likewiſe been miſtaken, with many others, on this hiſtorical fact. I return to the text of Benjamin, to obſerve on what M. Baratier has not condeſcended, or has been unable to elucidate. The rabbi aſcribes to the Aſſaſſins, as their prophet, one ‘ Canbat:’ I have reaſon to think we ſhould read ‘ Carmath,’ a notorious impoſtor, whom I ſhall notice. But whoever this Canbat may be, Benjamin ſeems to confound the prophet, that is to ſay, the author of their religion, with the commandant who actually governed them. The epithet ‘ certain,’ applied to Canbat, denotes a perſon of diſtant times, and of whom we do not ſpeak with full ſecurity.

The place called Karmos in the country of Sihon, which Benjamin makes the reſidence of their prophet, or their chief, is moſt probably mount Chermon, or Hermon, which, in the book of Deuteronomy, is likewiſe called Sion. This mountain, to the ſouth-eaſt of Anti Libanus, and contiguous to it, which commands Panéas (Cæſarea Philippi) is different from another mount Chermon, or Hermon, ſituated very far to the ſouthward in the vicinity of mount Tabor. It is of this laſt that the

133d Pſalm ſays, ‘ Like as the dew of Hermon, that fell on the hill of Sion ;’ that is to ſay, on the adjoining hills, according to the interpretation of M. Reland.

Maundrel, in his travels to Aleppo, who is as exact as curious, ſays, page 95, that he had felt on this mount Hermon very abundant dews.

As to what Benjamin ſays, that the country of the Aſſaſſins extends to eights days journey, he is not far from the truth, ſince other writers give nearly the ſame extent of territory to the Aſſaſſins, deſcribing it as continuing from Damaſcus to Antioch, as we ſhall preſently ſee.

William archbiſhop of Tyre, born, as it is believed, in Jeruſalem, but who purſued his ſtudies in the weſt, was living in the middle of the twelfth century. It was at the requeſt of Amauri king of Jeruſalem, who furniſhed him with arabian manuſcripts, that he laboured on the hiſtory of the princes of the eaſt. This book we have loſt; and there only remains his hiſtory of the croiſades in twenty-three books, the laſt of which is imperfect. There is an ancient tranſlation of the whole work into French, with a continuation in the ſame language by an author of the thirteenth century. This continuation has only been printed in the fifth volume of the great collection of fathers Marténe and Durand, Benedictines, who have been ignorant of the authors name, although it is quoted very often by M. du Cange, in his latin gloſſary under the name of Hugh Plagon.

William of Tyre ſays, in chapter 23, book 20, ‘ Circa epiſcopatum antaradenſem eſt quidam populus caſtella decem habens: hi magiſtrum non hæreditaria ſucceſſione, ſed maritorum prærogativa ſolent eligere, quem ſenem vocant, cui tantæ obedientiæ vinculo obligantur, ut nihil ſit tam difficile, ... quod non aggrediantur, ... ſi quos habent principes odioſos data uni de ſuis ſica, &c. Hos tam noſtri quam Saraceni (neſcimus unde deducto nomine) Aſſiſſinos vocant.’ As to what concerns their religion he ſays, ‘ Hi etiam quadringentis annis Saracenorum legem et eorum traditiones tanto zelo coluerunt, ut omnes alii reſpectu eorum prævaricatores judicarentur.’

Speaking, afterwards, of the project of their converſion, he accompanies the recital with ſome curious facts, and ſays, that their chief, in the time of Amauri, promiſed this king that he would become a Chriſtian, on condition

that he ſhould be diſcharged from the payment of two thouſand pieces of gold, as a tribute to the Knights-Templars; that the king accepted his propoſal, offering to make good this payment to the Templars, but that, by the perfidy of a Templar, who ſlew the envoy from the Aſſaſſins, on his return to his lord, and by the death of Amauri, the negotiation failed, &c. I ſhall obſerve on the above, that the Antaradus of William of Tyre is the town commonly called Tortoſa, and that the Aſſaſſins are there conſidered as Mohammedans, as Marco Polo ſtyles them, although he declares them heretics, under the name of Mulehetini, in the ſame manner as the Patharins and other ſectaries are comprehended under the name of Chriſtians: therefore Benjamin poſitively denies that they were Mohammedans. Let us recollect that William of Tyre gives four hundred years of antiquity to the Aſſaſſins, for I ſhall have occaſion to recal this date.

John Phocas, of cretan origin, in his deſcription * of the ſacred places that he viſited in the year 1185, tells us, in the third ſection, that from Antaradus to Tripoli extends a line of mountains inhabited by the 'Chaſyſiens,' Χασυσιοι †, a nation holding very particular religious tenets, conſidering their chief as the vicar of God, and who, in contempt of all danger, in aſſaſſinating ſuch as he may order, view death as a martyrdom to be crowned with eternal happineſs.

The cardinal Jacques de Vitri, biſhop of Acre, named to the patriarchate of Jeruſalem, and who flouriſhed at the beginning of the thirteenth century, has left us, beſide other works, an eaſtern and weſtern hiſtory in three books. It is in the 14th chapter of the firſt book that he notices the Aſſaſſins, and nearly in the ſame terms as William of Tyre and many others ‡, but with ſome additions, of which I ſhall only quote the following, as it may incline us to place this author among thoſe who ſpeak of the eaſtern Aſſaſſins. This is the paſſage: 'Primus autem et ſummus infauſtæ religionis eorum

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* Leo Allatius has given the greek text with his tranſlation, inter ejus Συμμικτα, edit. a Bartold. Nihuſio. Col. Agripp. 1653. 8vo. Father Papebrok has only reprinted the tranſlation. Act. Sanct. T. II. Maii.

† Fabrot, in his notes on Iſaac l'Ange, writes more correctly χασισιοι.

‡ 'Circa fines civitatis Antaradenſis quæ hodie vulgariter appellatur Tortoſa,' &c.

abbas et locus, unde principium habuerunt et a quo in Syriam venerunt in partibus ut orientalibus valde remotis, verſus civitatem Baldacenſem et partes Perſidis provinciæ.'

In the third book, of the edition by father Marténe, he ſays, 'Magiſtrum habent in profundum orientis, qui eſt caput ſuperſtitionis eorum; omnes alii principes eorum ſubditi ſunt, et obediunt: hunc Saraceni appellant magiſtrum cultellorum.'

We muſt join with Jacques de Vitri his contemporary Brochardus, or Borchardus, a german Dominican, who, in his deſcription of the holy land, where he had lived for ten years, after ſaying, in the ſecond chapter, that to the eaſt of Antaradus, 'ſunt quædam montana, quæ terra vocatur Aſſiſſinorum,' adds in the twelfth chapter, conformable to what Jacques de Vitri had ſaid, 'hi de Perſide dicuntur originem traxiſſe, aucti ad numerum 40 millia armatorum.' Here are confirmations of the ſtrongeſt nature, as to what Marco Polo has ſaid reſpecting the ſuperiority of the Aſſaſſins in Perſia over thoſe in Syria.

In the paſſage of Jacques de Vitri, nothing can create any difficulty but the town, called 'civitas Baldacenſis.' Marco Polo, and after him Sanuto, St Antonin, and many more have thus corrupted the name of the famous Bagdad: ſome have even called it Valdac. There is not the ſmalleſt likelihood that it ſhould be this town which Jacques de Vitri has thus denominated, as Denis le Bey de Batilli has thought, in his ſmall book on the origin of the Aſſaſſins. This Baldac ſhould be ſought for in the moſt diſtant parts of the eaſt, 'in profundum orientis;' and I venture to aſſert, that it is the town of Balkh, the ancient Bactria, almoſt the laſt town of Perſia to the eaſtward. Marco Polo calls it Balac, according to the writing of the Arabians. I therefore ſuſpect we ought to read in Jacques de Vitri 'civitas Balacenſis,' inſtead of 'Baldacenſis.' I will allow that this author has placed the eaſtern Aſſaſſins at too great a diſtance; for the town of Balkh is far beyond the Kouheſtan, the ſeat of their government, although in an adjacent province, namely the Khoraſſan, a country of vaſt extent. The great diſtance of this extremity of Perſia from Paleſtine, where Jacques de Vitri wrote, may perhaps excuſe his miſtake, and what may ſerve as an additional excuſe, is, that in the Khoraſſan, of which Balkh is one of the

conſiderable towns; indeed, it is regarded as the metropolis of Muſſulmaniſm; there appeared about the end of the ſecond century of the Hegira, a ſet of fanatics, called 'les vêtus de blanc:' and if Jacques de Vitry had heard of them, he might eaſily have miſtaken them for the Aſſaſſins; for between theſe two ſects there was much reſemblance, as I ſhall hereafter ſhow.

Jacques de Vitri ſpeaks again of the Aſſaſſins, in his third book, in the year 1219, on the occaſion of the murder of the ſon of the count of Tripoli, Raymond II. aſſaſſinated in 1148. It was to avenge his death that the Templars attacked the Aſſaſſins, and reduced them to ſuch extremity as to compel them to pay an annual tribute of three thouſand beſants: in another part, he ſays it was two thouſand.

This third book of Jacques de Vitri, firſt given to the public by Bongars, has been reprinted from a manuſcript having a very different text, in the anecdotes of father Marténe. Beſides what I have already quoted, I ſhall add, further on, all that concerns the religion of the Aſſaſſins.

Arnoldus, firſt abbot of St John at Lubec, contemporary with Jacques de Vitri and Brocard, notices the Aſſaſſins in two places of his continuation of the chronicle of the Slavi, or Sclavonians, by Helmoldus. I ſee nothing worthy of remark, except what he ſays of the lands they occupied in Syria: 'In terminis Damaſciæ, Antiochiæ et Alapiæ, quodam genus Saracenorum in montanis, eorum linguâ vulgari Heiſſeſſim:' from which we learn the extent of their territory from ſouth to north. Guillaume de Nangis, who lived at the cloſe of the thirteenth century, ſays, conformably to Arnoldus, 'In confinio Antiochiæ et Damaſci, in caſtris munitiſſimis ſuper montes.'

I find alſo, from the extracts of M. de Guignes, that the Iſmaëliens, in the 523d year of the Hegira, occupied Panéas, immediately below the mount Hermon of which we have ſpoken, a place ſituated to the ſouth of Damaſcus. The teſtimony of all theſe authors confirms what Marco Polo has ſaid of two lieutenants being ſent; the one to Damaſcus, and the other into the Kurdiſtan. To explain the ſituation of this Kurdiſtan, different perhaps from the country commonly ſo called, my readers muſt allow me to make a ſhort digreſſion. Pliny will furniſh me with the ground-work of it.

The following paſsage from this author, the explanation of which, ſupported by facts ſelected elſewhere, will throw light on our ſubject by the diſcovery of the origin of the name given to the Aſsaſsins, taken from the ancient name of a nation, who in the end embraced their religion. Pliny, deſcribing Cœlo-Syria, ſays, in book the fifth, chapter twenty-third, ‘ Cœle habet apamiam marſya amne diviſam à tetrarchiâ Nazerinorum, Bambycem, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis, Syris vero Magog.’ I ſhall juſt obſerve, that the Bambyce, of which Pliny ſpeaks, is the Manbesja of the Arabs; and that the Syrians call Magog, ‘ Mabougo.’ This laſt ought to be the reading of Pliny, and not Magog, which father Hardouin has left remaining in the text, under a vain pretence of juſtifying it. We are indebted to Thomas Hyde for the firſt correction of this word, who, to ſhow the conformity of Bambyce and of Magog, produces inſtances of the permutations of the letters B, P, and M. I add alſo the exchange of Balbek, the Heliopolis of Syria, for Malbek. But let us come to our object, namely the Nazerini, who are mentioned in this paſsage of Pliny.

This nation, Nazerini *, ſituated in the neighbourhood of the Marſyas †, and of the Orontes, has preſerved its name among the Arabians. M. d’Herbelot, in his ‘ Bibliotheque Orientale,’ takes notice of three ſorts of ‘ Noſſairioun,’ as different from each other as the derivations are various of the ſame name, which he equally uſes in ſpeaking of them all. The laſt Noſſairioun, in his work, are thoſe whom we acknowledge for the Nazerini of Pliny: they are a ſect of Schiites, or followers of Ali, whoſe religion was nearly the ſame as that of the Aſſaſſins. M. Aſſémani, in the 320th page of the ſecond volume of his ‘ Bibliotheque Orientale,’ ſpeaks of theſe Noſſairioun, but ſo confuſedly, that it is difficult to diſtinguiſh them from

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* Father Hardouin, in his ſixth note, is not fortunate in ſeeking the Nazerini among certain Arabians mentioned by Strabo.

† This river, different from the Marſyas of Phrygia, and which Pliny alone has noticed, muſt have been ſome torrent which runs into the lake formed by the Orontes, to the north-weſt of Apaméa. Nevertheleſs, father Hardouin will have this river Marſyas to be the ſame as the Axius on a medal, contrary to the opinion of M. Vaillant, who believes, with more probability, that it was the Orontes, called Axius by the Macedonians.

the Nazaréens. This, however, we ſhall attempt to clear up when we come to the religion of the Aſſaſſins.

Maundrel, in the twentieth page of his travels, places above Jébilée (Gabala) a nation called by the Turks Nécéres, true cameleons in matters of religion. Their name declares their origin. He ſays alſo in the 15th page, that in the ſame place, in the midſt of turkiſh Mohammedans, there were ſectaries of Hamet and Ali, who deteſt Omar. M. de la Roque, in the 9th page of his 2d volume of travels through Syria, calls theſe laſt Turcomans, or Amédiens; the ſame, probably, as the ſectaries of Hamet. This was one of three nations who inhabit Libanus and Anti-Libanus: the Maronites and the Druſes are the two others. But what we read in the memoirs of the miſsionaries, pages 208. and 209. in the 6th vol. reſpecting the town of Aleppo, is more deciſive. This memoir ſays, that the Keſbiens* and the Naſſariens†, who occupy the mountains, and the plain towards the ſea, near to Tripoli, may, very poſsibly, be the ſucceſsors to the Aſsaſsins, ... that the religious tenets of theſe three people have great conformity, ... that they believe in the metempſychoſis, &c. The writer of this memoir has, however, fallen into many miſtakes reſpecting the Aſsaſsins, whom he has before mentioned. Hyde moſt poſitively aſsures us, that the Nazerini of Pliny, Noſeiri, Noſairæi, Noſéirini, of the Arabians, are a portion of the Kurdes who inhabit Mount Libanus The ſame author has elſewhere obſerved, that Libanus was inhabited by many ſectaries from Kurdiſtan, and that the Aſsaſsins were originally Kurdes. Are not theſe, then, ſufficiently ſtrong reaſons for us to ſuppoſe, that the Kurdiſtan of Marco Polo may have been the northern ſide of Mount Libanus, whither

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* The ſame perhaps as the Keſſalſioun. See this word in d'Herbelot, and that of Schiah, where he calls them Kerſabiens; but we ought to read Kelbins for Keſbiens. In a map of Syria, in the fifth volume of the 'Memoires de l'Academie,' the Kelbins are noticed. This people is ſituated, in that map, between Antioch and Laodicea, and the Noſſaires immediately below them, to the ſouthward. In Hyde de Relig. Perſar. p. 491. Kelbii, Calbii, id eſt. Canicularii. In Huntington, epiſt. 47. Kelbini in Cœle-Syria.

† Called Naſſaiſies in the above-mentioned map, where they are placed more northward than Tripoli. Father Hardouin calls them alſo Naſſairies, in the ſixth note on the paſſage quoted from Pliny.

the Aſsaſsins of Perſia ſent one of their lieutenants, whilſt the other had the ſouthern diſtrict towards Damaſcus? I will not, however, deny, that a part of the Aſsaſsins might have reſided at the ſame time in the real Kurdiſtan. In a ſmall map of the northern part of Diarbeker, drawn up by M. d'Anville, one of the moſt learned geographers of the age, I have ſeen placed between Amio, or Diarbeker, and the lake of Van, a place called by him the 'paradiſe of the Aſsaſsins,' on the authority of a traveller whoſe name he has forgotten. It may be ſeen elſewhere how the famous Gelaléddin, ſon to the ſultan of Khouareſm, whoſe empire was deſtroyed by Genghis Khan, was ſlain in the Kurdiſtan by a Kurde, in the houſe of one of his friends, whither he had retired after his laſt defeat. Such are the circumſtances related by M. Pétis de la Croix of the aſsaſsination of this prince. Having fully conſidered this matter, I ſhall now leave the more poſitive determination of the ſituation of the Kurdiſtan of Marco Polo to others, who may be endowed with more knowledge, and who ſhall judge of it without prejudice. I ſhall merely remark on this occaſion, that the true Kurdiſtan was by its locality the moſt proper place to form a communication between the Aſsaſsins of Perſia and thoſe of Syria.

After ſo long a digreſsion, but which appeared to me neceſsary to my ſubject, and incidentally for the elucidation of Pliny, I return to the thread of my quotations. I left off at a paſsage of Arnold of Lubeck. I proceed with Bengertus, a learned German, who has given an edition of the chronicle of this author, at the end of that of Helmoldus, with notes. He has collected, in one of theſe notes, the name of almoſt every author whom he has known to have ſpoken of the Aſsaſsins; but he is miſtaken, as well as M. Baratier, the editor of the hiſtory of the Tartars, in applying to the Aſsaſsins of Syria the expedition of Holagou againſt thoſe of Perſia, and placing, by a continuation of this error, the town of Tigado in Phœnicia.

The firſt author who has been the cauſe of this miſtake, common to ſo many writers, was Matthew Paris, an engliſh Benedictine of the abbey of St Albans, an hiſtorian of reputation towards the middle of the thirteenth century. In ſeveral parts of his hiſtory, where he ſpeaks of the Aſsaſsins, as in the life of Stephen king of England, the period he fixes on for the

aſſaſſination of Raymond was about 1150. He copies William of Tyre almoſt word for word. He indeed, inſtead of the king Amauri, calls the monarch Baldwin IV. ſon and ſucceſsor to the former, contrary to the direct authority of William of Tyre. But the paſsage we have in view is under the reign of Henry III. of England, when, after having ſpoken of the irruption of the Tartars into Syria, which he places in the year 1257 of our æra, he adds, that theſe deteſtable people deſtroyed the Aſsaſsins, ſtill more deteſtable than themſelves, ' deteſtabiliores.' As this paſsage may create a belief that the tartarian prince formed another expedition againſt the Aſsaſsins of Syria, it is proper to notice, that Holagou, after the capture of Bagdad, having puſhed his conqueſts as far as Syria, it does not appear that he effected any change in the ſituation of the Aſsaſsins of that country: they eſcaped from him, without doubt, by taking refuge in the moſt inacceſsible places of Mount Libanus, and made their appearance again on his departure, or, rather, having ſubmitted without reſiſtance, they were humanely treated by the conqueror.

However this may be, the Aſsaſsins of Syria were certainly in exiſtence after 1257, the year of their pretended deſtruction; for the attempt of an Aſsaſsin, in the town of Acre, on prince Edward, ſon to Henry III. is related at the year 1272, in the continuation of Matthew Paris's hiſtory by William Riſhanger, a Benedictine of the ſame monaſtery, who died in 1312. Thomas Walſingham, an engliſh hiſtorian likewiſe, referring this fact to the year 1371, ſays, ' Laſſatinus quidam eum ex improviſo cultello occidit:' now, by the word ' occidit,' we muſt underſtand ' vulneravit *,' as the remaining part of the hiſtory ſhews. How could he kill a prince who reigned until 1307, and of whom he himſelf gives the life at the commencement of his hiſtory?

I am not acquainted with any attempt of the Aſsaſsins of Syria about this period; and there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that, no longer ſupported by thoſe of Perſia, they were afraid to riſk any very daring enterpriſe, as their

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* Spelman, who at the word ' Laſſatinus,' in his gloſſary, quotes this paſſage, copied afterward by others, ſhould have explained the ſenſe of the word ' occidit,' which readers, not perfectly learned, would not fail to underſtand in its true meaning. ' Aſſaſſiner,' in French, is uſed in both ſenſes.

power was daily declining, until they were completely deſtroyed about the year 1280 of our æra.

This I have learnt from the extracts from Abulfeda by M. de Guignes, that in the 671ſt year of the Hegira, the lieutenants of Bibars *, ſultan of Egypt, completed the capture of the remaining caſtles of the Iſmaëliens, Kahf, Manica and Cadmous.

An author who lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century, collecting all that William of Tyre and Jacques de Vitri have ſaid, has made the ſame miſtake as Matthew Paris. His name was Francis Pipin or Pépin, a Dominican of Bologna in Italy, of whom we have a chronicle that remained in manuſcript until M. Muratori publiſhed an edition of it †. Pépin is ſo much the leſs excuſable, as he ſtyles himſelf the author of a latin tranſlation of Marco Polo, and he ought to have followed him in the tradition of the deſtruction of the Aſsaſsins by Holagou.

Hitherto I have only quoted authors from whom I could obtain information, or whoſe faults I was obliged to notice, as they may lead to error. I ſhould make a diſplay as tireſome as it would be vain, were I to produce all the paſsages of every author where almoſt the ſame things are to be found. Radevic ‡, a German, Brompton, Roger Hoveden, William of Newbridge §, Nicolas de Trivet, all engliſh authors; Rigord, a french hiſtorian; Vincent de Beauvais, Oderic de Frejus, Sanuto, a Venetian, &c. would only repeat, with a few variations, what we have before had from the writers already quoted, without further inſtructing us in any thing reſpecting the origin or religion of the Aſsaſsins. In regard to this laſt point, I ſhall add one fact, anterior nearly a century to the expedition of Holagou, and

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* Bibars IV. ſultan of the ſecond dynaſty of the Mamelukes.—*D'Herbelot* at the word *Bibars*.

† Tom. 9. of the collection of 'Hiſtorians of Italy.' It is from chapter 38. to 41. incluſively, that Pépin ſpeaks of the Aſſaſſins.

‡ Author of the Geſt. Frider. 1. He ſpeaks of an attempt of an aſſaſſin on this emperor during the ſiege of Milan in the year 1159, in his ſecond book, chapter 37.

§ Miſcalled Neubourg by M. du Cange in his Diſſertations on Joinville, and by father le Long in his Biblioth. Hiſtorique de France, No. 14,681, &c.

which could not be known till the recent publication of a work that has hitherto remained in manuſcript.

M. Schultens, in 1738, publiſhed the arabic text, with the tranſlation, of the life of the famous Saladin, written by Bohadin, who had attended him in his expeditions. This hiſtorian ſays, chapter 15. p. 45. that Saladin, immediately after the ſurrender of the town of Manbesja *, beſieged that of Azaza †, and that during this ſiege he fortunately eſcaped from the attempts of the Iſmaelites (Iſmaeliens ‡, that is to ſay, Aſſaſſins). In the extracts from Abulfeda, which M. Schultens has printed, with other pieces, at the end of Bohadin's life, this fact is detailed more fully; for it is there ſaid, in the tenth chapter, that Saladin, wounded by an Iſmaëlite, ſeized him as he was repeating his blows; that his guards ſlew him when in his arms; and that, inſtantly after, two other Iſmaelites were alſo killed, at the moment of their attack on the ſultan; that Saladin, animated with a juſt ſpirit of vengeance, after the capture of Azaza, entered their country, put every thing to fire and ſword, and marched to lay ſiege to Maſiata, the place of their retreat; but that their chief, named Sinanus §, made his peace, through the interceſſion of the uncle of Saladin.

The abbé Renaudot, ſo learned in the eaſtern languages, had read, without doubt, an arabic manuſcript of Abulfeda, and relates this fact in the hiſtory which he publiſhed of the patriarchs of Alexandria, at Paris, in 1713; but we cannot gueſs whence he has taken the name of Moſiab, which he gives to Maſiata, for he frequently piques himſelf on not giving the name of his authorities, as if he were deſirous of concealing from his readers the ſources of his knowledge. The geographical index which M. Schultens has placed at the end of his work informs us || that Maſiata is a fortified town

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* Manſbejum,—Manſbeja, Bambyce, Hierapolis, according to the geographical index to the life of Saladin, Mabog of Pliny. See further on what is ſaid of Mabougo of the Syrians.

† See another Azaza hereafter.

‡ See further on, when Iſmael is mentioned.

§ The ſame name as that of a magi. See note further on.

|| According to the extracts made by M. de Guignes from the hiſtory of Abulfeda, the Iſmaëliens had ſeized on Maſiata from the Moncadites, in the 525th year of the Hegira. He reads

on the ſea-ſhore, near to Tripoli, and that Abulfeda, in the additions to his deſcription of Syria, places Maſiata on mount Aſſikkin, literally the ‘ mountain of the knife,’ or of ‘ the poinard.’ The weapon by which Saladin was wounded is called by Abulfeda in Arabic ‘ Sikkin,’ in the tranſlation ‘ Culter.’ I very much ſuſpect that the Latin has borrowed the word ‘ Sica’ from the Arabic ‘ Sikkin,’ or the Hebrew ‘ Sakin.’ The learned in the eaſtern tongues are not ſufficiently aware of ſuch reſemblances. I am alſo perſuaded that the word ‘ Aſſikkin’ bears no relation to that of Aſſaſſin, as will be ſeen in the ſecond part of this diſſertation, which has ſo much connection with the firſt, that they will mutually ſerve to elucidate each other.

‘ Maſiat’ inſtead of ‘ Miſiaph,’ which is the arabic text. It may have been from this miſtake that the Moſiab of the abbé Renaudot aroſe. Maſiata, however, is the Meſiat whence is dated a pretended letter from the commandant of Syria, that will be noticed hereafter.

A

DISSERTATION

ON

THE ASSASSINS, A PEOPLE OF ASIA.

BY M. FALCONET.

PART II.

I RETURN to the hiſtory of the Aſſaſſins, who made ſo ſharp an attack on Saladin; becauſe the motives of this attempt, ſuch as I think myſelf authoriſed to preſume them to be, will at length lead me to the diſcuſſion of the religion and origin of this people, which two articles will mutually aſsiſt in the explanation of each other.

Saladin, in his laſt expedition to Egypt, had almoſt entirely aboliſhed the tenets of Ali; that was the reigning ſect under Adhad, the laſt caliph of the race of the Fatimites, who took their name from Fatima, daughter of Mohammed, and the firſt wife of Ali. Saladin himſelf had probably been of this ſect, being of kurdiſh origin, of the tribe of the Ravadiens*,

* See the geographical index at the end of the life of Saladin, at the article of 'Curdi Rawadiæi.'

who believed in the metempſychoſis. It is not ſurpriſing that at the time this prince was ravaging the lands near to the territories of the Aſſaſſins, or perhaps ſuch as made part of their own dominion, they ſhould have conſidered him not only as the enemy of their nation, but alſo of their religion, and even as a renegado, a principle of animoſity infinitely more powerful than any other.

This religion, of which we are now to ſpeak, was a branch of the ſect of Ali. To give a juſt idea of it, I have but to put in order what M. d'Herbelot ſays of it in the different articles of his 'Bibliotheque Orientale,' a treaſure that cannot be ſufficiently prized; but which not being printed until after his death, and before the author had put the finiſhing hand to it, is deſerving of correction, and of being edited in a better manner.

The Mohammedans named Sunnites, who believe themſelves the only orthodox, are in general called Schiites, or Schiaites, from Schiah, which ſignifies 'faction,' the ſectaries of Ali. The diviſion that ſprung up between theſe two parties at the beginning of the ſecond century of the Hegira was conſiderably augmented in the fourth, and finally cauſed the ruin of the caliphs of Bagdad. Theſe ſectaries, who on their part thought themſelves the only faithful, under the name of Adelin (Juſts) divided into ſeveral ſects, of which there were five principal ones, whence a prodigious number of branches burſt forth.

The moſt conſiderable of theſe five was that of the Sofis, or Sefis, who pretended to be deſcended by Scheikh Sefi, or Séfieddin, from Houſain, ſecond ſon to Ali, the true branch of the Imams, according to the Perſians. They were myſtics, conſidered as Mohammedans of the pureſt religion

Iſmaël Sophi, head of the laſt dynaſty of the kings of Perſia, between the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, derived his origin from this Séfieddin. Travellers, ignorant of the cauſe of the ſirname of Sophi, have believed it to be the diſcriminating name of the kings of Perſia *.

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* M. Otter, in the firſt volume, page 243, of his Travels in Turkey, ſays, that the kings of Perſia are called 'Saféviens,' from being the deſcendants from Cheik-Safi. M. D'Herbelot interprets the word 'Safi,' 'choſen,' whence Scheik-Safi. Nevertheleſs from 'Sofi,' a religious Muſſulman, he

All theſe ſectaries agree in allowing Ali to be only firſt Imam after Mohammed; but they count differently in reſpect to the Imamat, or the ſovereign power, both as to temporal and ſpiritual matters,—a power which they regard as divine, and which cannot be diſobeyed or reſiſted without impiety. It is in one of the branches of theſe five principal ſectaries that we muſt ſeek the origin of the Aſſaſſins.

Towards the middle of the ſecond century of the Hegira, Giafar al-Sadek, that is to ſay, the juſt, the ſixth of the imams, admitted by the Perſians, had ſeveral ſons: Iſmaël, the eldeſt, died before his father, and the ſectaries pretend that the dignity of imam had deſcended to his iſſue, in preference to the collateral line. It is from this Iſmaël the Aſſaſſins have taken the name of Iſmaëliens. I could have wiſhed that M. Schultens had made uſe of this name, in his tranſlation of the life of Saladin, rather than that of Iſmaëlites, the general name of Mohammedans, which the Jews give them, and which they have retained from the Arabians, their anceſtors, long called ſo before the time of Mohammed. Pocock, in his tranſlation of Abulfaragius, ſhews the ſame want of attention. M. d'Herbelot, more ſcrupulous in ſpeaking of our ſectaries, always ſays Iſmaëliens, in conſequence of an obſervation which he makes at the word 'Iſmaëlioun.'

The faction we are ſpeaking of at firſt excited great troubles, which ended in open rebellion. It was a branch of the deſcendants of Iſmaël, ſon to Giafar, that took forcible poſſeſſion of Egypt toward the end of the third century of the Hegira, and reigned there about three hundred years, under the name of Fatimite Caliphs: they were alſo called African Iſmaëliens. Our Iſmaëliens, who are thoſe of Aſia, eſtabliſhed themſelves two hundred years later; but their origin may be dated from the death of Giafar, in the middle of the ſecond century of the Hegira, about the year 770 of our æra. This completes exactly the four hundred years which

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derives the word 'Sof,' or 'Souf,' 'wool,' from the ancient Sofis wearing woollen dreſſes. M. Kæmpfer, Amænit. Exotic. clothes theſe religious in camlet, 'Suf, ſauph,' a ſort of camlet fabricated at Suph, a ſmall town in Syria, &c.

The firſt derivation of Safi ſeems the more reaſonable, as to what concerns the kings of Perſia. The religious Muſſulmen may have either the one or the other of theſe derivations.

William of Tyre allows for the antiquity of their religion at the time he wrote, nearly in 1170.

The chief dogmas of the Aſſaſſins were the metempſychoſis, and the deſcent of the holy Spirit * on the perſons of their imams. A ſtrong belief in this laſt point inſpires them with that blind obedience to execute the orders of their ſovereign, as if he were a god, and makes them dare death with an intrepidity that is unexampled among the reſt of mankind.

Similar principles, drawn from Magiſm † and Judaiſm, as well as from Mohammedaniſm, infected I know not how many enthuſiaſts prior to the eſtabliſhment of the Aſſaſſins. There is great likelihood that the religion of the Indians entered alſo into the monſtrous mixture of which the Iſmaëliens compoſed theirs.

Haſsan-Sabah, their firſt chief in Perſia, had gone as far as Khaſchgar, a town in the Turkeſtan, to ſeek, in the dogmas of the Magi and Indians, wherewith to enrich thoſe of his own ſect. Already this whole country, even the more northern parts of it, was infected with Indianiſm (if I may be allowed the word). One of the firſt khans of the turkiſh nation had prevailed on ſome Bonzes from China and India to come to him, in the ſeventh century of our æra, at the ſame moment when Mohammed began to eſtabliſh his doctrines in the ſouth of Aſia. This I learnt from M. de Guignes, who told me he had found it in chineſe books.

At the commencement of the Iſmaëliens, there appeared a ſect called ‘ Ravendiah:’ ſuch as embraced it were named ‘ Zenadecah,’ and ‘ Revendi:’ their chief was denominated, ‘ Alzendik,’ from the word ‘ Zend,’ the title of a book of Zoroaſter, the goſpel, if I may ſo call it, of the Magi, of which theſe ſectaries were a branch. They believed in the metempſychoſis, and vainly endeavoured to perſuade Almanſor, ſecond caliph of the Abaſsides, that the ſpirit of Mohammed had paſſed into his body: far

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* Called Holuliat. See d'Herbelot, article ‘ Imam,’ who has ſpelt it wrong, ‘ Huloubiat.’ Holoul Choloul means in Arabic ‘ deſcent,’ and alſo ‘ repoſe, habitation.’

† There was Sinan, one of the Magi, in the Khoraſſan, who believed in the metempſychoſis with Abou-Moſlem.—D'Herbelot, word ‘ Sinan.’ All theſe fanatics were guilty of inceſt, from the examples of the Magi.

from accepting of the divine honours which they conſequently wiſhed to pay him, he made it a point of religious duty to exterminate them.

Some conſiderable time afterward, Hakem-Bemrillah, third caliph of the Fatimites in Egypt, was not ſo prudent: his head being turned with pride, he believed himſelf in fact a god, at the perſuaſions of a fanatic, called Darari, of whom I ſhall ſoon ſpeak.

A little before, the Zenadecahs uttered their viſions at the court of the Abaſſide Caliph, there appeared in the Khoraſſan an impoſtor called Hakem-ben-Haſchem, who was pleaſed to ſuppoſe that the ſpirit of God had deſcended on Abou Moſlem, governor of that province. Abou Moſlem, though perſuaded of the truth of the metempſychoſis, muſt have been diſtruſtful of this honour, and muſt have judged Giafar, who reſided at Medina, more worthy of it, ſince he offered him the caliphate.

This Mohammedan, a great warrior, wiſhed to deſtroy the dynaſty of the Ommiades, and, on the refuſal of Giafar, he eſtabliſhed the Abaſſides on the throne. Hakem, after the death of Abou Moſlem, laid claim to the Divine Spirit, and excited great troubles, which ceaſed not after his death. Beſieged, and perceiving the place muſt ſoon be ſtormed, he put himſelf to death in a ſingular manner, by throwing himſelf into a bath of aqua-fortis, without doubt, in order that his body might be ſo conſumed, as to excite a belief that his body and ſoul aſcended together to heaven, as his ſectaries, the ‘ Vetus de blanc,’ afterwards publiſhed.

More than one hundred years after this, in the 278th year of the Hegira, came Kerſah, another impoſtor, ſirnamed Carmath, from the place of his reſidence, near to Cufa. His hiſtory is in Abulfaragius. He ſpread abroad the ſame erroneous opinions as Hakem and the Zenadecahs; but, eſtabliſhing new legal obſervances, he principally inculcated, that they were all but ſymbols of the blind obedience due to the imam, whoſe dignities and divine prerogatives, however, he thought might paſs from one family to another. I imagine that in this Carmath we find the Canbat of Benjamin de Tudela, whom he calls the Prophet of the Aſſaſſins. My conjecture ſeems the more probable, from Khondemir, the perſian hiſtorian, informing us that the ſect of Carmath conforms to the doctrines of Iſmaël, ſon to Giafar.

The ſectaries of Carmath formed a government in Arabia, of which Hagiar* was their capital. Abou-Thaher, chief of the Carmathes, a little before the middle of the fourth century of the Hegira, after having pillaged Mecca, and profaned the temple, whence he carried off the black ſtone, marched a troop of 500 horſe againſt an army of thirty thouſand men, ſent by the caliph. When a general from the caliph came to exhort him to ſubmit, Abou-Thaher, to ſhow how cheaply he held the army of the caliph, after telling him that his general wanted three ſuch men as his, by a ſimple ſign, ordered three of his ſoldiers to kill themſelves, one by a ſtroke of a poinard on the throat, another by throwing himſelf into the Tigris, the third by leaping off a very high place, and inſtantly he was obeyed. The terror with which theſe ſelf-murders inſpired his enemies made him gain an eaſy victory. I have related a ſimilar fact in my quotations from Elmacin, and there is another of the ſame ſort told of the weſtern Aſſaſſins. We read in the chronicle of Pepin, at the place before cited, that Henry the ſecond count of Champagne, who married Iſabeau, daughter to king Amauri, and widow of Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, was invited by the commandant of the Aſſaſſins in Syria to paſs through his territory. On his coming near a certain tower, the commandant, who had accompanied him, aſked if he had ſubjects as obedient as his were. Without waiting an anſwer, at the firſt ſignal he made, three young men, clothed in white, precipitated themſelves from the top of the tower near to which they were.

It is from ſimilar facts that Nicetas Choniates ſays the Aſſaſſins, at the ſimple motion of the eye-brows of their prince, threw themſelves into water, fire, or on the points of ſpears, or ſwords, that may be preſented to them.

What is ſaid of the young men clothed in white, in this paſſage of Pepin, gives me occaſion to obſerve, that the white colour of the dreſs ſeems to be of legal obſervance among all theſe fanatics. The ſectaries of Hakem of the Khoraſſan, whom we have mentioned, were called in Perſian ‘ Sifid Giameghian,’ that is to ſay, ‘ thoſe clothed in white.’ The Eſſeniens, whom

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* This Hagiar is not the ancient Petra: it is another Hagiar near to the perſian gulph, in the province of Bahrein. D’Herbelot, at the word ‘ Hagiar,’ has confounded them.

‘ Hagr, Hagiar,’ in Arabic, means ‘ ſtone.’

we ſhall demonſtrate by and bye to have ſome conformity with the Iſmaëliens, wore nothing but white clothes: it is probable that they took them from the Nazaréens.

Some time after the commencement of the fourth century of the Hegira, Schamalgani preached, not only the metempſychoſis, but alſo the tranſuſion of ſouls among the living. He aboliſhed all divine worſhip, and permitted inceſt. This villain was executed ſhortly after, under the reign of Radhi, the twentieth caliph of the Abaſſides.

At the beginning of the fifth century of the Hegira, in 408, Darari, who, as I have ſaid, had perverted the fatimite caliph, having been ſlain, Hamzah, protected by the ſame caliph, re-animated the ſect of Dararioun. Hamzah eſtabliſhed not only doctors in Cairo and in Meſrah, the ancient Babylon of Egypt, but he ſent, as I may ſay, a colony of Dararioun to Syria, Tyre, Sidon and Beritus, whither, perhaps, he himſelf retired, after the death of the caliph, in the 411th year of the Hegira.

The extravagance of the dogmas and practices of Schamalgani, formed the eſſence of the religion of the Dararioun. The Aſſaſſins have been reproached with inceſt by Arnold of Lubec, (book 7. chapter 10.) by Vincent of Beauvais, (Spicil. Hiſtor. l. 31. c. 6.) and by the author of the manuſcript treatiſe on the holy war, quoted by M. du Cange in his obſervations on Joinville. The affinity of the Aſſaſſins with the Dararioun, among whom inceſt was permitted *, and their connections with them, of which we ſhall ſpeak, may have brought on them this reproach; or, rather, both of them have, in this, followed the example of the Magi, or ancient Guebres.

During this interval the Carmathes, whoſe power declined on the death of Abou-Thaher, and which was ſhortly after deſtroyed by the Baridiens, a people of Arabia, remained diſperſed for more than a century in Syria, Perſia, and even in Egypt, the cradle of the Dararioun. It was there that Haſſan Sabah collected thoſe of either ſect, the Dararioun and Carmathes, equally called Bathéniens, whom he united with ſuch as he found in other countries

* Permiſerunt ſuis ducere ſorores, filias atque matres, et ſuſtulerunt pietatis ſtudia, ſcilicet jejunium, orationem, et peregrinationem.—*Elmacin*, l. iii. c. 6.

of Aſia, after which, having puſhed his excurſions as far as Kaſchgar, with the deſign before mentioned, he fell upon the Gebal or Kouheſtan of Perſia, judging that the Iſmaëliens, perſecuted in every country whither they had diſperſed themſelves, could not fix on any aſylum more ſecure than one that was mountainous, and almoſt inacceſſible. Thus, toward the end of the fifth century of the Hegira was formed the dynaſty of the Iſmaëliens, of whom Haſsan was the firſt chief: a man of underſtanding, well verſed in the ſciences of geometry, of the magi, and others, according to the account Abulfeda gives of him in his hiſtory.

On the other hand, the remnant of the Carmathes in Irak Arabia, the place of their origin, united themſelves to the ſectaries of Darari, eſtabliſhed in Syria by Hamzah; and to the Noſſairiouns, that were diſperſed in the environs of Antioch and Apaméa. The Iſmaëliens of Perſia judged it proper, no doubt, for the union of all theſe ſectaries which had ſo great an affinity with each other, that commanders ſhould be ſent them, that is to ſay, lieutenants from the ſovereign who reſided in Perſia. Another motive ſeems alſo to have determined them on this meaſure: the croiſades, which commenced early in the ſixth century of the Hegira, the twelfth of our æra, furniſhed them with too many favourable opportunities of exerciſing their attempts on the Chriſtians, the declared enemies to a religion of which they believed themſelves the moſt juſt (Adelin) followers, as well as the moſt zealous defenders.

The ſame reaſon, however, which had induced them to form eſtabliſhments in the Kouheſtan of Perſia, had ſimilar effects in regard to their fixing on Syria, and in other parts of Libanus and Anti Libanus, for their reſidence. Many different people, who had been deſirous of withdrawing themſelves from the muſſulman domination, whether of the caliphs or the ſelgiucides princes, had already choſen this ſpot. The hiſtorians who ſpeak of theſe laſt Aſſaſſins mention mount Libanus by the word Gebal, ‘ a mountain’ in arabic, although this name properly belongs only to the Gebal of the perſian Irak, that is to ſay, in Kouheſtan, a perſian word ſignifying a reſidence on a mountain.

M. le Moine, notwithſtanding, ſeems to doubt, in his letter to M. Ménage, whether the Aſſaſſins did reſide on mountains, when, in order to derive their

name from their place of reſidence, he makes them inhabit the plains. According to him, ‘ Aſſeſa,’ or ‘ Aſſiſa,’ (ſignifying ‘ herbs, paſturage,’ in Arabic, and thence ‘ gardens,’) is the derivation of the word ‘ aſſaſſin.’

The etymology is as falſe as the conſequences he ſeems to draw from it. The gardens of the ſcheikh of the Kouheſtan were in truth in a valley, from the deſcription of Marco Polo: thoſe of the Aſſaſsins of Syria may have been in the ſame hollow: but the fortreſſes of this nation were on the inacceſsible mountains. The ſtrong places of the Kouheſtan had reſiſted, for ſeveral years, the troops of Holagou; and that which Saladin had beſieged was ſituated on mount Aſsikin in Syria. It was from this reſidence on mountains, that the chief of the Aſſaſsins was called the old man of the mountain, as we ſhall preſently ſhow.

I cannot, on the occaſion of the miſtake of M. le Moine, refrain from making ſome obſervations on other parts of that letter. He pretends, that the prince Alardin, mentioned by Marco Polo, has been confounded with the old man of the mountain: he miſnames Alardin, him whom Marco Polo and others call Aloaddin, though wrong alſo. Moadin is another alteration of this name, as we have before noticed, as well as Algaydin, in Bergeron, followed by the tranſlator of Marmol. But whatever the name may be, this confuſion, which M. le Moine does not attempt to clear up, may be eaſily unravelled by ſimply laying down the ſucceſsion of chiefs of the oriental Aſſaſsins.

The Iſmaëliens of Perſia eſtabliſhed themſelves in the Kouheſtan, as we have ſaid, in the fifth century of the Hegira, which anſwers to the eleventh of our æra, and maintained poſſeſsion about one hundred and ſeventy years, under eight princes, the firſt of whom was Haſſan Sabah, their founder, and the laſt Rokneddin, who only reigned one year. His predeceſſor Alaëddin (this is the true name) reigned for more than twenty-five years: it is not, therefore, ſurpriſing that he ſhould be ſpoken of in preference to his ſucceſſor, whoſe reign was ſo ſhort, and ſo much the more, becauſe the expedition of Holagou againſt the Aſſaſsins of Perſia, which muſt have laſted for two or three years, muſt conſequently have commenced during the life-time of Alaeddin.

It is aſtoniſhing that this prince, almoſt the laſt of his line, ſhould have been repreſented by the greater part of modern writers under the name of Aloadin, as the founder of the dynaſty of the iſmaëlian princes. Marmol, R. Reineccius, followed by many more, have fallen into this error.

I ſhall make one other obſervation on this prince, by ſaying, that the learned authors of the 'Acta Sanctorum' are miſtaken, when they attribute to Alaeddin (they name him correctly) the embaſſy ſent to St Louis, for there is no probability of its coming from ſuch a diſtance: it could only have been ſent by the commandant in Syria; but to avoid this error, which they have, without doubt, felt, they have added in a note elſewhere, that the Aſsaſsins (whom I call eaſtern) had quitted Perſia to eſtabliſh themſelves in Syria, at the period of this embaſsy in the year 1250. 'Ex hoc temporis ſpatio ſatis colligitur principem Aſsaſsinorem tunc temporis non habitaſse circa fines Perſidis, licet eos ibidem antea domicilium habuiſse affirmet Vitriacus.'

The miſtake is manifeſt. The eaſtern Aſsaſsins were in exiſtence in the year 1250, ſince they were not deſtroyed by Holagou until ſome years after. On the other hand, the weſtern Aſsaſsins had reſided in Syria from the thirteenth century. It was in the courſe of this century that they cauſed Raymond II. count of Tripoli, to be aſsaſsinated in 1148, and Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, in 1192; that they entered into negotiations with king Amauri, about the year 1171, in order to be converted to Chriſtianity; and that Saladin, whom they had attempted to murder, laid ſiege to their fortreſs of Maſiata, near to Libanus, in the 572d year of the Hegira, and, according to Boadin, the 1176th of our æra, without ſpeaking of other facts anterior to the year 1250.

The dynaſty of the Iſmaëliens of Perſia, with the name of their princes, in ſucceſsion, from father to ſon, and the duration of each reign, are detailed in the Nighiariſtan *. a book quoted by d'Herbelot, who has inſerted, in

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* *Nighiariſtan*,—a perſian word that means 'gallery, a place for walking,' taken from ſeveral hiſtorical books. We have in French, 'Galerie des femmes fortes.' In Italian, 'The gallery of Minerva,' a kind of journal.

different parts of his Bibliotheque, the ſucceſsions of all the princes of Aſia, excepting what concerns the commanders of the Aſsaſsins in Syria. D'Herbelot only gives, after the eaſtern writers, the name of Scheikh (old man), that is to ſay, prince, to the chief of the Aſsaſsins of Perſia. Our hiſtorians alone honour with this title the lieutenants of Syria. Marco Polo was then well informed when he ſays, the Aſsaſsins of Perſia ſent lieutenants to command over thoſe of Syria. It is for this reaſon that William of Tyre, ſpeaking of the laſt, ſays, that their commanders ſucceeded each other by election, and not by any hereditary right, differing in this reſpect from the ſcheikhs of Perſia. This election, however, depended ſolely on him, whom Jacques de Vitri calls 'Abbas, prælatus, magiſter cultellorum,' who reſided 'in profundum orientis,' and to whom he expreſſly declares were ſubject thoſe who commanded in Syria.

This fact appears to me completely decided; and any contrary opinion can only be ſupported by a very ſuſpicious authority, that of Benjamin de Tudela, when he ſays, in a paſſage before quoted, that the people of Molhat were ſubjected to the old man, who reſides in the country of the Alchaſchiſchins, to which M. Baratier very thoughtleſſly adds, that this old man was chief of the Aſſaſſins of Syria. Although the rabbi was fully capable of falling into this groſs miſtake, we may, nevertheleſs, interpret it more favourably. He had ſpoken, a little before, of 'Robabdar,' as a place nine days journey from the country of Molhat: now this caſtle is in the territory of the Aſſaſſins, and even one of their principal holds, as we ſhall ſee; and it may perhaps be there that he intended to ſay their old man reſided. In this caſe the fault of Benjamin would only conſiſt in not having properly diſtinguiſhed the country of Molhat from that of Robabdar, as if theſe two countries had been under ſeparate governments.

The territory of the Iſmaëliens was very extenſive. They occupied, from the Khoraſſan from eaſt to weſt, all the country on the ſouthern ſhore of the Caſpian Sea. In thoſe days were comprehended under the name of Gebal or Kouheſtan *, ancient Parthia, and the northern part of what

* That is to ſay, the Kouheſtan of this day properly ſo called, Eſterabad, the Tabriſtan, the Maſanderan, and the Ghilan or Dilem.

formerly compoſed Media. It is in the Dilem or Ghilan, which was a dependance on it, that we find Roudbar and Alamout the moſt conſiderable places of the Iſmaëliens. Roudbar, which we ſee in the map of the Ghilan, in the travels of Olearius under the name of Pyle-Rubar, and which is deſcribed in the journal of the travels of father de la Maze, is a delightful ſpot near to Réi, to the north of Caſbin. It is the Robabdar which Benjamin places at nine days journey from Molhat, and is called Rodiara by Elmacin, in the paſſage we have quoted. Alamout, the principal ſeat of the Iſmaëliens, was built in the 246th year of the Hegira. Naſireddin, a famous aſtronomer, contemporary with Holagou, places this town, called by him Almut, in the Dilem, in about thirty-ſix degrees of latitude.

Abulfeda mentions ſeveral places that the Iſmaëliens took poſſeſſion of by force, ſuch as Tabs, at the ſouthern extremity of the Kouheſtan, and others ſtill more ſoutherly, between the Fars and the Khouziſtan, which they had ſurpriſed: but it does not ſeem probable that they long retained places ſo diſtant from their centre of government, fixed near to the Caſpian Sea. Such expeditions were made more for plunder than for permanent conqueſts. With regard to Tigado, a place ſpoken of by Haiton alone, and after him by Marmol, who calls Tigad the paradiſe of the Aſsaſsins, it would be difficult to ſettle its ſituation, unleſs it be the Kitou of the Chineſe, as I have reaſon to believe it is: then it would be a place at the eaſtern extremity of the Kouheſtan, on the borders of the Khoraſsan, which would offer itſelf firſt to the prince Holagou, on his advance from the north-eaſtern part of the Caſpian Sea, to enter the country of Mounai, that is to ſay, of the Aſsaſsins.

To conclude all that concerns the ſituation of the parts inhabited by the Aſsaſsins, I have to notice the extraordinary opinion of a learned man of the ſixteenth century, but which has had, however, ſome ſucceſs. Cælius Auguſtinus Curio, in the third book of his ſaracenic hiſtory, ſeduced by the falſe reſemblance of the names, has imagined that the Aſsaſsins were the Aſsaceni, of whom Arrian and other authors have ſpoken; and he places them in the ſame parts, which theſe ancient people occupied, between the Cophen and the Indus, three hundred leagues to the eaſtward, beyond the Kouheſtan.

Marmol, whom Ortelius quotes without correcting him, has fallen into the ſame error: Bergeron, in his treatiſe on the Tartars, has followed him; and it ſeems as if R. Reineccius has cauſed it by aſſigning that part of Perſia neareſt to the Indus for the ſeat of government of Aloaddin, which has been faithfully copied into ſome of our dictionaries. I paſs over ſeveral other parts of the paſſage of Curio deſerving of cenſure, and come to a ſingle word, that will afford me the opportunity of finiſhing all I have to ſay concerning the religion of the Aſſaſſins.

Curio, at the concluſion of his article on the Aſſaſſins, ſays, that ſome call them 'Eſſenos.' I have before ſaid ſomething on the connection of the Eſſeniens with the Aſſaſſins. Firſt, the name of Eſſeniens, or Eſſéens, (it is thus the Greeks have formed theſe names Ε′αϛηνοι from the Arabic, Ε′αϛᾶιοι from the Syriac), which name, I ſay, has as much reſemblance to that of the Aſſaſſins as thoſe of Aſſacini, Aſſanitæ, Arſacidæ, names which different authors have given to them, according to various etymological ideas, equally frivolous; but it ſeems a more ſtriking reſemblance has been imagined in the thing itſelf.

The Eſſéens, or Eſſeniens, a jewiſh ſect, ſprung, agreeably to the conjecture of Druſius, from the boſom of thoſe Phariſees who allowed of the metempſychoſis. This opinion ſpread over the eaſt from the earlieſt times, where even Pythagoras had imbibed it, and was eaſily communicated to the Jews. The philoſophers of both ſects, called Mecar, generally admitted it; but they only allowed of the regeneration of ſouls to the good. The ſoul of Phineas, grandſon to Aaron, had paſſed into the body of the prophet Elias; that of Adam into David, and was afterward to animate the Meſſiah: but as to the ſouls of the wicked, they were conſigned, inſtantly after death, to eternal puniſhments. The metempſychoſis of Pythagoras, on the contrary, was conſidered as a means of purifying ſouls imperfectly good.

The Iſmaëliens, as well as the Jews, admitted a ſucceſſive transfuſion of perfect ſouls, ſuch as thoſe of Mohammed and Ali, or the deſcent of the divine Spirit on the perſons of their imams. * There is likewiſe another ſimilarity

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* According to the monk Yves le Breton, mentioned in Joinville, the Aſſaſſins believed that the ſoul of Abel paſſed into Noah, from Noah to Abraham, and from Abraham to St Peter.

between the Eſseniens and the Aſsaſsins, in their religious conformity. Beſide the three jewiſh ſectaries, there aroſe a fourth during the latter periods of Jeruſalem: theſe were the 'Sicarii,' thus called by Joſephus. It was rather a faction than a ſect, which cauſed the rebellion of the Jews, and ſupported it with unexampled courage. Theſe Sicarii, called alſo Zelotæ, were formed from thoſe of the Phariſees and Eſseniens, whom the ill treatment of Florus, govenor of Judea, had reduced to deſpair. Robbers of every deſcription ſoon united themſelves to the Sicarii. St Chryſoſtom, in his 46th homily on the Acts of the Apoſtles, ſtyles theſe Sicarii, Eſseniens; and Theophylactus does the ſame in his Scholia, on the 21ſt chapter of the Acts of the Apoſtles.

The Sicarii had for arms poniards, ξιφιδια, Sicas, whence they had their name. They would acknowledge no other ſovereign than God, and were animated with ſuch extraordinary zeal againſt the enemies of their religion, that they gained the name of Zelotæ. Their conſtancy in the enduring of tortures was inconceivable.

Theſe were the arms uſed by the Aſſaſſins: we have ſeen them called Sikkin by Bohadin *: ſuch were their diſpoſitions of body and mind: add alſo their ſuppoſed affinity of name, their belief in the metempſychoſis, the ſame colour in their dreſs, for prejudice ſeeks ſupport from every thing, and it will be ſufficient to confirm the opinions of thoſe who have imagined they had diſcovered the Aſſaſſins among the Eſſeniens.

We muſt not therefore be ſurpriſed if Jacques de Vitri, in his third book of the edition of father Martene, does not heſitate in making the Aſſaſſins deſcend from the Jews: 'Eliſæi quos vulgus vocat Aſſeſſinos de Judæis tracti ſunt, ſed Judæorum ritus non obſervant.' Eliſæi is manifeſtly a miſtake for Eſſæi. This word is again otherwiſe changed in a paſſage of Raphael de Volterra, a learned Italian at the beginning of the 16th century, who is nearly of the ſame opinion in reſpect to the jewiſh origin of the Aſſaſſins. Having ſpoken of the Aſſiſſini of Syria, whom he admits to have come from

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* It is the 'Chinger' of the Perſians, 'Alchinger' of the Arabians, pronounced by the Malays 'Chanzier,' and by the Turks 'Changiar,' 'l'Acinaces' of the ancient Perſians, 'Ενχειριδιον,' 'Parazonium, Pugio,' &c.

Perſia, he thus concludes: ‘ Scripturam habent ex Chaldæo et Hebræo permixtam; nam Edeſſæorum ſectæ adhærent, qui putant poſt mortem nec gaudii, nec pænæ locum eſſe.’

Theſe Edeſſæi are the Eſſéens, or, if more agreeable, the Haſidéens; the philoſophers, perhaps, who, as we have ſaid, were called Mecar, unleſs, perchance, they be the Sadducees, as the cloſe of the above paſſage, where paradiſe and hell are excluded after death, ſeems to demonſtrate. Volterra would have been groſſly miſtaken in making Sadducees of the Aſſaſſins, but his error is as great in attributing the ſentiments of theſe laſt to the Eſſéens.

The Aſſaſſins ſeem to have another connection with the Jews, under the name of Nazaræi. This word would afford me matter for too long a diſcuſſion, I ſhall therefore content myſelf by remarking, that Noſſairioun, in M. d’Herbelot, deſignates, as I have before ſaid, three ſorts of people, the ancient Nazaréans of the Jews, more properly called Nazireens, the Nazaréans, a ſect that appeared in the firſt age of Chriſtianity *, and that ſect of Schiites, whoſe reſemblance to the Iſmaëliens we have noticed, and whoſe name came from the Nazerini of Pliny.

M. Aſſemani, who has recogniſed the Aſſaſſins in theſe laſt Noſſairioun, has confounded them with the firſt or ſecond, by calling them Nazareens. The Aſſanites or Aſſaſſanites, although he deſcribes them as a ſect of the Jacobites, appear to him alſo Aſſaſſins, under another name. Theſe Aſſaſſanites, according to him, are thus called from Aſſaſſa †, a part of the territory of Tacrit or Tecrit, in Meſopotamia. It may be that the Saracens, ‘ Aſſanitæ,’ of Ammianus Marcellinus, have thence derived their name; but we can conclude nothing from this in regard to the Aſſaſſins.

I come at length to the origin of the name of Aſſaſſin. There can be no doubt but that it was an eaſtern word, and that the Arabians were the

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* True Chriſtians, in the firſt ages, have alſo taken this name after Jesus Christ, called the Nazarean, from being born at Nazareth, and at the ſame time, in alluſion to the ancient Nazareans. See Grotius in D. Matthæ. c. 2. v. 23.

† Azaza,—a town in Meſopotamia, according to M. Schultens, different from another of the ſame name in Syria, that was beſieged by Saladin, as before noticed.

firſt who uſed it. William of Tyre, who ought to know, poſitively declares it, although it be not found in any tranſlation from the eaſtern texts, except in that of the Hebrew of Benjamin de Tudela. The true etymology which immediately offers itſelf is that of Thomas Hyde: 'Aſſaſſini, ſignificant Trucidatores, occiſores:' add that from the arabic verb 'haſſa, chaſſa, chaſaſa,' meaning 'to kill,' comes the active participle 'châſis,' in the plural 'hâſſiſin, châſſiſin,' 'occidentes,' killers, aſſaſſins. On the other hand, the word 'Sikkin,' ſeems to point out a different origin. We have ſeen that mount Aſſikkin, 'the mountain of the poniard,' was the reſidence of the commandant of the Aſſaſſins in Syria: the knives made uſe of by the Aſſaſſins were called 'Sikkin:' their ſovereign, qualified by Jacques de Vitri with the title of 'Magiſter Cultellorum;' his ſubjects called 'Cultelliferi' by Matthew Paris: 'Sicarii' even by William of Newbridge, as well as the 'Sicarii' of the Jews. From the ſame cauſe, the thieves who infeſted France about the year 1180 were called 'Coterelli, Cultellarii, Cottereaux.' But all theſe reſemblances, however happy they may be, only form one of thoſe alluſions which are but too ſeducing in the reſearch after the derivations of words, and can have no weight againſt the etymology we have firſt offered.

The conjecture of M. de Caſeneuve, however probable it may appear, is of the ſame ſort as that to which the word Sikkin gave riſe. This learned man, in his 'Origines Françoiſes,' imagines, that without having recourſe to the Arabic, the derivation of Aſſaſſin may be found in a primitive word of the ancient Teutonic, 'Sahs, Sachs, Sæhs,' 'grandis culter et brevis gladius.' Although I ſhould agree with this author that the Saxons may have taken their name from this kind of arms, I can never admit of the proof that Abraham Mylius and Iſaac Pontanus believe they can give of it, when they pretend that for this reaſon the Saxons bear in their arms two knives in ſaltire *. It is for a very different cauſe that the ſwords in ſaltire are this day in the armorial bearings of the elector of Saxony. In the year 1423, the elector Frederick was made grand marſhal of the empire; and the

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* Mylius calls theſe knives 'Saggares.' See this word in Suidas, with the note of Kuſter and Burton. Λεψανα Veteris. Ling. Perſ.

two ſwords were added to the arms of his houſe, as a mark of his dignity, which the electoral branch alone among his ſucceſſors has the right to bear. We cannot then, on the proofs brought forward by Mylius and Pontanus, ſuppoſe a word, manifeſtly arabic, to be derived from a teutonic origin. But it may be ſaid 'Sahs' is an eaſtern word alſo: the Saces, a people of Scythia, take their name from it, and the Saces are fathers to the Saxons. This is what Mylius ſays in the ſame paſſage, after Goropius Becanus, whom he does not quote. Nothing is more doubtful than this pretended etymology of the Saces. Reland agrees with Hyde that the name of Saces comes from Saki, in Arabic 'Potator,' and there are many reaſons for the ſupport of this opinion.

The Greeks have tranſlated the word Aſſaſſin by Χασιοσ, which word we find in the ſixth book of the Alexiade of Anna Comnena, and in two paſſages of the chronicles of Nicetas. Fabrot, on the firſt, reads χασισιος: we have before ſeen χασυσιος in Phocas. Benjamin calls it, 'Haſchiſchin,' in Hebrew. The orthography of the word Aſſaſſin has moſt prodigiouſly varied among our weſtern authors, whether from the fault of copyiſts, or from the ignorance of the authors themſelves*. In Matthew Paris, we find not only 'Aſſaſſini, Aſſeſſini, Aſſiſſini,' (this laſt is the only good one), but alſo 'Haſſatuti:' in William of Newbridge, 'Hanſeſſiſii:' in Roger Hoveden, 'Aſſaſſi, Accini:' in Arnold of Lubec, 'Heiſſeſini:' in Vincent de Beauvais, 'Arſaſini:' in Albericus des trois Fontaines, 'Herſaſini:' 'Aſſidei,' in ſome chronicles (perhaps for 'Haſſidæi,' or 'Eſſæi:') 'Laſſatini,' in Thomas Walſingham. 'Hakeſins, Arquaſſins, Auquaſſins,' in our old french authors: in Moreri's dictionary, 'Aſſaſſiniens,' as if Aſſaſſin were the name of a country. However, 'Aſſaceni, Aſſanitæ, Arſacidæ,' are but words forged on falſe etymologies. Vincent le Blanc has ſtrangely corrupted this laſt word, by calling the Arſacides 'Salcidas,' or 'Saldridas.'

I much ſuſpect that the Aſſaſſins never called themſelves by this name: it was rather one given them by their enemies. I ſhould think they would more willingly have taken that of 'Bathéniens,' illuminati, from 'Bathen,'

* See the liſt of theſe varieties in the gloſſary of du Cange, at the word 'Aſſaſſini.'

internal ſcience, at leaſt they were ſo called in Egypt, but I believe they have more generally adopted the name of Iſmaëliens, as followers of the doctrine of Iſmaël, ſon to Giafar, the only one they eſteemed orthodox. It is certain that they were never called ‘ Bedouins,’ which is a blunder of the interpolator of Joinville, repeated by Paſquier, by Bergeron, by Caſeneuve, &c.; and what is more dangerous, by the lateſt dictionaries, that of Moreri, la Martiniere, and the univerſal dictionary: in this laſt, where many groſs miſtakes are crowded on each other at the word ‘ Aſſaſſin,’ the word ‘ Bedouin’ is derived from ‘ Bathénis,’ interpreted by ‘ unknown:’ it is the Bathéniens we have been ſpeaking of. ‘ Bédouins,’ ‘ Béduins,’ ‘ Badavi,’ ‘ Bédévi,’ are Arabs of Arabia Deſerta, from ‘ Badiah,’ the deſert.

The other Mohammedans, who held the Aſſaſſins in horror, called them ‘ Molhédites,’ heretics *. We have ſeen the different alterations of the word Kharegiens †, that is to ſay, ſuch as lay aſide their obedience, due to the legitimate imam, a name which true Muſsulmen have given to the Carmathes, and is generally applicable to the Iſmaëliens.

The ſovereign of the Aſſaſſins is termed Scheikh by eaſtern writers. Vincent le Blanc, in the paſſage before quoted, calls him ‘ Séguémir,’ a word compoſed of ‘ ſcheikh’ and ‘ emir,’ and places his reſidence in Arabia; but nothing ought to ſurpriſe us in ſuch an author. The arabic word ‘ ſcheikh,’ anſwering to the latin ‘ ſenior,’ and which in the Latin of the middle ages has the two ſignifications, has been ridiculouſly tranſlated by ‘ Vetus,’ ‘ Vetulus,’ ‘ Senex’ inſtead of ‘ ſenior,’ if the word ‘ Dominus’ had not been choſen. Vetus de Monte, in the chronicle of Nicolas Trivet, (anno 1236), Vetulus de Montanis, in that of Guillaume de Nangis, in the ſame year. Vetulus de Montibus, frequently by Sanuto, and Senex de Montanis, in the latin tranſlation of Marco Polo. In Haiton, ‘ Sexmontius’ is but a contraction of ‘ Senex montis,’ which Batilli, who tranſlated it by ‘ prince of the ſix mountains,’ has not comprehended. We have ſeen him entitled by

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* Molhédoun, in Arabic, is the plural of the participle of the verb ‘ lachada,’ ‘ alchada,’ primitively to pierce a wall, and figuratively to go aſide, to quit the right road.

† Kharaja, in Arabic, exire, to go out. ‘ Kharei,’ exiens, ‘ Kharegi,’ ſchiſmatic, one who is diſobedient.

Jacques de Vitri, ‘ Summus abbas, prælatus, magiſter cultellorum ;’ and in the third book of the ſame author, (father Marténe’s edition), we read that this monarch was commonly called ‘ ſimplex :’ he gives himſelf the title of ‘ Simplicitas noſtra’ in his letter to Philippe Auguſte, quoted by William of Newbridge. This is one of the two letters that have been falſely attributed to him, and of which we are about to ſpeak. This ſimplicity conſiſted in having inhumanly put to death ſuch as he believed enemies to his ſect, or thoſe whom he conſidered as prevaricators, according to the expreſſion of William of Tyre.

The Aſſaſſins indiſcriminately exerciſed their fury on Mohammedans and Chriſtians. We read in the hiſtory of the caliphs, of princes and vizirs being murdered by their emiſſaries *. I am alſo perſuaded that this ſcheikh, all ſimple as he called himſelf, cauſed murders to be committed at the ſolicitations of other princes, from motives of intereſt, wherein religion had no part. We have a right to believe this, from what the commandant in Syria ſaid to Henry II. count of Champagne, when he invited him to paſs through his territories, after the ſtriking example he had ſhewn him of the devoted obedience of his ſubjects : ‘ Si inimicum aut inſidiatorem regni haberet, ab hujuſmodi ſervis ſuis continuo interfeci procuraret.’ Theſe are the words reported by Sanuto. Therefore, when the chief of the Aſſaſſins is made to ſpeak otherwiſe, in the letter dated from Meſiat, which Nicholas Trivet has inſerted in his Chronicle, (an. 1192) ‘ Sciatis quod nullum hominem mercede aliqua vel pecunia occidimus,’ this is one of the reaſons which ought to cauſe it to be ſuſpected of forgery. In fact, it is very probable that the Engliſh fabricated this letter, addreſſed to Leopold duke of Auſtria, to procure the liberty of king Richard, whom he detained priſoner ; and that, at the ſame time, they addreſſed another to Philippe Auguſte, (which is the one we are ſpeaking of) to efface his ſuſpicions of the murderer of the marquis of Montferrat, and to prevent him from acting with hoſtility toward them, in the abſence of their king. The beſt

* Two caliphs, one of Bagdad, another of Egypt ; Taparés, ſultan of the Khoraſſan ; a king of Moſul, and ſeveral princes Selgiucides ; the famous vizir Nezam-el-Mulk, without counting very many other aſſaſſinations reported by Abulfeda in different parts of his ninth dynaſty.

Anna Comnena—D’Herbelot—Abulfeda.

juſtification of Richard is to be found in the generoſity of his character, however ferocious his valour may have been. This king, mortally wounded at the ſiege of Chaluz, in Limouſin, by a croſs-bowman, not only pardoned him, after the capture of the town, but before he died ordered one hundred ſhillings to be given to him.

As to the real cauſe of the aſſaſſination of Conrad marquis of Montferrat, there are ſtrong grounds for ſuppoſing that Humfroi lord of Thoron, firſt huſband of Iſabeau, daughter to Amauri and heireſs to the kingdom of Jeruſalem, enraged that, by the annulling of his marriage, he ſaw his wife and the crown paſs into the hands of Conrad, employed, to revenge himſelf, the miniſtry of the Aſſaſſins.

But I ſuſpect we cannot, on equally good grounds, impute to the Aſſaſſins the death of Louis the firſt * duke of Bavaria, aſſaſſinated at Kelheim in the middle of Germany, in the year 1231. It is on a very ſlight foundation that the emperor Frederick has been ſuſpected to have been the author and promoter of this crime. Nevertheleſs, at the firſt council of Lyons, in 1245, at which preſided Innocent IV. a declared enemy to Frederick, among other motives for the excommunication and depoſition of this emperor, was the murder of Louis duke of Bavaria, alledged to have been committed, at his inſtigation, by the Aſſaſſins, and the friendly intercourſe he kept up with the Mohammedans.

To avoid omitting any thing, I muſt make ſome mention of the celebrated gardens of the Aſſaſſins. Their ſcheikh had tranſported thither, during a ſleep procured by particular drugs, the young men deſtined to his ſanguinary executions, that they might have a fine taſte of that paradiſe which he promiſed them after death. The idea of ſuch gardens was copied from that of Schédad, an ancient king of Arabia Felix. This prince, deſirous to perſuade his ſubjects of his divinity, incloſed within his garden every thing that could flatter the ſenſes, and there introduced, as if into the true paradiſe, ſuch as he judged worthy of it. This garden was called Iram †, and Muſſulmen often give this name to paradiſe.

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* Of the family of the counts of Schiren and Witelſpach, whoſe deſcendants now reign.

† A town in Arabia Felix bears at this day the name of Yrame, See La Roque's travels.

May I be allowed to make one reflection? Although Mohammed, in the Alcoran, ſpeaks of this impious prince with horror, the generality of Chriſtians are not the leſs perſuaded that the paradiſe of Mohammed was alſo entirely ſenſual. But M. Reland, and father Maracci, in the preface to his edition of the Alcoran, and M. d'Herbelot, at the word 'Gennah,' have vindicated Mohammed from this charge, as well as many others.

This impoſtor is ſufficiently culpable without the neceſſity of falſely imputing to him errors which he never had. This, however, is the uſual cuſtom of the greater part of thoſe who refute a religious ſect: animated with a falſe zeal, they think every thing is permitted, even lies, in ſupport of the truth.

In concluding, I recollect a ſingular hiſtorical fact concerning this paradiſe. When Holagou deſtroyed the Iſmaëliens in Perſia, he ſent three hundred 'Molhédites' to Caſbin, where, according to his orders, they were put to death. Now Caſbin, formerly a capital town in Perſia, was called 'Giabal' or 'Gémal-abad,' the 'fair reſidence,' a word that ſignifies alſo paradiſe. It ſeems that this prince alluded to this double meaning; and to mock the paradiſe of theſe fanatics, he ſaid he would ſend them thither when he ordered them to Gémal-Abad, and had them put to death. Hence, probably, is derived that perſian proverbial expreſſion, 'to ſend a perſon to Gémal-Abad,' to ſignify to put him to death.

This diſſertation, on a ſubject ſo little intereſting, will, without doubt, appear too long. My only fault is having choſen ſuch a ſubject, but the memoir of M. de la Ravaliere determined me, and made me deſirous to attempt the elucidation of all that regarded the Aſſaſſins. I could not ſhorten what I had to ſay, after being engaged in the diſcuſſion of matters where the greater number of authors who have treated on them, far from correcting thoſe who had preceded them, have added new miſtakes to thoſe they copied from. It is alſo neceſſary for him who takes the liberty to correct others, to make his readers competent to judge, whether the critic himſelf may not likewiſe want correction. This cannot be done but by fully and faithfully detailing the paſſages he reports. The diſcovery of truth, whether by myſelf or others, is the ſole object I have had in view.

Should I, however, have drawn any conſequences from the compariſon of the paſſages I have brought forward, I believe I have not hazarded them without mature reflection. Before I began to write, I formed no ſyſtem: what could have induced me to form one? The pretended ſyſtem which may be ſuppoſed to exiſt in the foregoing pages appears to me ſolely the reſult of facts, without any combination of prejudices.

THE END.

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